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ABSTRACT

Designed to serve as a forum for the exchange of ideas concerning international and intercultural communication, this annual volume contains articles that cover a variety of topics. The first half of the volume contains seven articles discussing the following: (1) a pragmatic approach to mass media development in three models of developing nations; (2) criticism and research of the cultural impact of American television abroad; (3) semiotics of cross-cultural communication in a Japanese film; (4) a communication perspective of the Osage Little-People; (5) conceptual comparisons between attraction and communication style of blacks and whites as determinants of interpersonal relationships; (6) critical issues for language planning in bilingual education; and (7) developing an elementary school curriculum with a global perspective. The second half of the volume contains reviews of several books on intercultural communication subjects, including the management of intercultural relations in international business, communication in the rural Third World, and the dynamics of folklore. (HTH)

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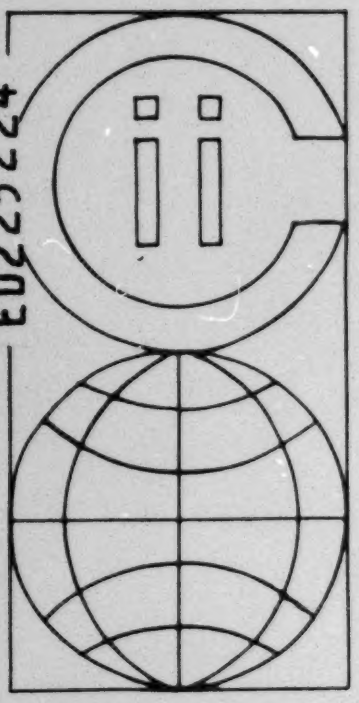

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Volume VI December 1982

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Nemi C. Jain, Editor
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This volume is dedicated to

WILLIAM RILEY FREEMAN

(1906–1980)

for his commitment to
intercultural communication and world peace

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The *International and Intercultural Communication Annual* is a yearly publication of the Speech Communication Association devoted to the areas of international, intercultural, interracial, interethnic, and cross-cultural communication. Consistent with the goals of the Speech Communication Association, the *Annual* is designed to promote study, criticism, research, teaching, and application of the scientific, humanistic, and artistic principles of international and intercultural communication. It publishes articles, book reviews, and other features of interest to scholars, researchers, teachers, trainers, administrators, and practitioners of international and intercultural communication.

Like the previous five volumes of the *Annual*, this volume has several articles dealing with various aspects of international and intercultural communication. This volume continues the tradition of publishing book reviews.

It is difficult to fully acknowledge, by name, each individual who contributed to the preparation of this volume. First, I want to express my appreciation to present and former members of the Speech Communication Association's Commission for International and Intercultural Communication for their continued support to sponsor and publish the *Annual*. My very special thanks to David S. Hoopes and Margaret D. Pusch of the Intercultural Press, Inc., for their entrepreneurship and financial support for printing this volume under a special agreement with the Speech Communication Association. I am obliged to the Department of Communication of Arizona State University for providing encouragement and support, in varied forms, for preparing this volume. I am particularly grateful to authors of the manuscripts, book reviewers, our consulting editors, our Associate Editors—John E. Crawford, William G. Davey, and Robert E. Davis, our Assistant Editors—Dennis S. Sorenson and Lara Collins Witt, our Editorial Assistants—Aleta Cohen, Chris Harrison, Martha Tollman and Janet Sylvester—and many others who helped me in preparing this volume. I would like to thank William Work of the Speech Communication Association for his continued support in publishing this issue. Finally, I want to express my sincere appreciation and thanks to my wife, Pushpa, and my children, Kelly, Neal, and Ravi, for allowing me to devote many of my "family hours" to complete this volume.

Nemi C. Jain
Editor

A PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO MASS MEDIA DEVELOPMENT IN THREE MODELS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS

STANLEY E. SMITH

The New World Information Order (NWIO) demanded by the Third World through UNESCO calls for urgent and effective action by the Western industrialized nations. But what is the best way to assist developing nations improve their media systems so they can enter the mainstream of world communication? The author addresses this question, first evolving a definition of developing nations, while pointing out that they differ greatly and therefore require different approaches. Adopting Galbraith's three models of developing nations based upon barriers to economic development, he relates these models to media needs and problems. Then he suggests approaches for meeting the needs of nations represented by each of the three models.

INTRODUCTION

Ever since a proclamation for the establishment of a new world economic order was approved in a UNESCO conference in 1974, the developing nations of the Third World have called for a "New World Information Order" (NWIO). Basically, they have complained of an information monopoly by the Western industrialized nations which results not only in unfair and inadequate news reporting about the developing nations, but also undermines the culture and values which those nations consider necessary for their progress, and even survival. They feel themselves left out of the mainstream of world information, and falling even farther behind in the ever-accelerating pace of technological expansion.

The Western industrialized nations agree that some of these inequities must be addressed. For example, they concur that there should be more complete coverage of developing nations by transnational news agencies and foreign media, lower rates for communication supplies and services for those nations, more adequate training of Third World journalists, and more effective transfer of technology from the West. Despite these areas of apparent agreement, however, the new world information order has been the subject of a raging debate at UNESCO meetings since 1974, reaching its greatest intensity during the 21st General UNESCO Conference held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in 1980.

The focus of contention was the report of the MacBride Commission, a body appointed in 1978 to study the problems cited by the Third World, and headed by Sean MacBride, former Irish foreign minister and winner of both Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes. Actually, the report had been released in March, 1980, giving its advocates and opponents a full six months to construct their arguments. It also allowed time for a build-up of tensions and apprehensions.

Generally, the developing nations were very supportive of the report, while the industrialized Western nations, where a tradition of a "free press" has existed, adamantly opposed its recommendations. The West claimed the recommendations would pave the way for the adoption of a code of ethics for the media, the licensing and regulation of journalists, aid for the improvement of communication practices of so-called liberation groups, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the funding of certain research programs which the International Press Institute said "threaten the free press."[1]

Despite the West's objections, however, a majority vote by the numerically superior Third World nations passed resolutions authorizing UNESCO to proceed with the development of guidelines and standards for implementing the recommendations. Ten

conferences were scheduled for the next three years, after which a 1983 UNESCO General Conference will decide whether to put the recommendations into effect.

It appears that the Western nations will try to prevent the adoption of restrictive resolutions by providing their own solutions to the world information imbalance. The USA proposed an International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC), an instrument designed to help Third World nations develop their own news organizations.[2] The proposal was adopted, with the stipulation that decisions must be made by a consensus rather than a majority, and that a major portion of the funding for the program must come from private industry and charitable foundations.

THE URGENCY OF THE SITUATION

The West's efforts to redress the communication imbalance through the new IPDC and other programs must be approached with a real sense of urgency, not only because of the increasing frustration of the Third World and the consequent determination to achieve balance by regulatory means, but also because the imbalance will grow rapidly more acute unless the problem is effectively addressed. Considering the sociological principle that a society's rate of invention increases geometrically as its technological base increases arithmetically, the so-called "communication revolution" tends to aggravate, not ameliorate, the "gap" problem, unless the "have" nations are willing and *able* to put their new inventions into the service of the "have-not" nations.

Rendering the problem still more acute is the rapid development of "informatics," electronic data processing, and "tele-informatics," the linking of data processing with advanced telecommunications technology. As Hamelink points out, vast volumes of information are already flowing across national borders, including credit data about commercial firms and private citizens, medical information, and data about national economic developments.[3] As early as 1975 a Harvard study pointed out that *local* bookings for flights on the national airlines of Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland were being made through a computer in Atlanta, Ga.[4] Perhaps even more striking is the fact that by means of photosatellites, natural resources in remote areas of foreign countries are explored, and the information stored in data banks controlled by Western interests. These are examples of a trend about which Schiller, in an extension of his earlier thesis of "cultural imperialism,[5]" states, "Unless the social forces underlying and determining current computer communication are revealed and understood, ground gained in overcoming information dependency in traditional areas may be retaken by those who dominate the new terrain."[6]

SOME BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The establishment of the IPDC must be based upon several basic assumptions which are apparently widely accepted among both Third World and industrialized nations. The first is that developing nations face similar problems with regard to the growth, role and performance of mass media, on both domestic and international levels. The second assumption is that developing nations are both able and willing to learn something about mass media principles, practices and technology from the industrialized nations; that at least some of these are applicable to the communication systems of Third World nations.

While other assumptions could be cited (the very fact that mass communication is a vital ingredient in national development, for example), these are the two we shall be examining most closely in this paper, for they have a direct bearing on the West's efforts to

assist Third World nations improve their media systems. Further, an examination of them may shed some insights on why previous efforts to achieve these goals have not produced the desired results.

WHAT IS A DEVELOPING NATION?

First, just how commonly shared among developing nations are problems of mass media development? Does Nepal have the same types of problems as those confronted in Nicaragua, for example? The answer is obviously no. What similarities are there between Zambia and Pakistan with regard to media development? There are a few likenesses in all instances, to be sure, but there are also vast dissimilarities. If the industrialized nations are to assist them in their media development, it obviously cannot be done through an identical approach. Yet all of these countries fall within the category referred to as developing nations. What, then, constitutes a "developing nation"?

Our discussion about the roles and problems of the mass media in Third World nations would appear to be futile without a definition of the term "developing." It would be most convenient if we could say that all developing nations possess certain characteristics in various degrees, and that each nation could be located at some point along a linear scale. We could then judge its precise level of development, predict the next stage, and prescribe the remedies which would alleviate its present difficulties and launch it automatically into the next stage. But this is obviously an overly simplistic notion. We know that a measure taken toward solving a problem of mass media development in one Third World nation would not necessarily be applicable in another.

In view of this disparity, what we need to do is to arrive at a satisfactory definition of the term "developing nation," to determine whether a categorization of developing nations is appropriate to a discussion of their mass communication needs and problems, and to discuss briefly how some of these needs might best be met. These are the objectives of this paper. It is not our purpose to make specific recommendations, but rather to suggest general approaches which might be utilized by governments, international organizations, private businesses and charitable foundations in providing assistance to Third World nations in the development of their mass communication resources.

It has been suggested that a developing nation might be one whose gross national product based upon population falls beneath a certain level. Others might consider a developing nation one in which the per capita income is a certain fraction of that of the industrialized nations. Neither of these would be a valid criterion, however, for in that case most of the OPEC countries would have to be considered among the most highly developed nations, and they themselves hardly consider this to be true.

To be more systematic, we could consider Daniel Lerner's modernization theory, which holds that the first step toward modernization is mobility, both physical and psychic, followed by urbanization.[7] After a country reaches 10% urbanization, according to Lerner, there is a significant increase in literacy, and urbanization and literacy grow concurrently. He believes this latter to be true because, first, psychic mobility has been stimulated by the idea of a better life in the urban areas. Once the peasant, or tribesman, moves to an urban area, he and his family must find jobs, and to find jobs they must learn what is going on in the new environment, and what kinds of jobs are available. They find, however, that the person-to-person communication system which they found effective in the rural milieu is no longer operative. The new environment is too big, too impersonal. They are forced, therefore, to seek new channels of information. They must listen to the

radio, and eventually some of them learn to read the public notices, and then the newspapers. They also learn that literacy may bring higher wages.

The utilization of radio, notices and newspapers — and now television — by the newly urbanized population, and the growing dependence upon them, stimulates the growth of the mass media, which, according to Lerner, occurs at approximately the point of 25 per cent urbanization.

Increasing literacy and the concomitant growth of the mass media lead to Lerner's final step in the modernization process, which is political participation. In this stage, the ordinary citizen is personally involved in political action of some type, or at least has developed a national political consciousness. In other words, mass media become vehicles for the communication of political information.

Lerner has not stated at what point a country ceases to be "developing," and, in fact, we are not even certain that one which has reached the final stage of modernization could not be classified as developing. Lebanon, before its recent civil war, could be cited as an example. Even with a civil war, 33 daily newspapers were published there in 1976, and other media were abundant[8] This, together with the intense interest of its citizens in politics, would seem to indicate a very high level of modernization. Yet Lebanon classifies itself as a developing nation, as do many Latin American nations where both the mass media and political participation are at an active level.

We might also attempt to apply the theory of another sociologist from an earlier era, Ferdinand Tonnies, who defined the differences between a pre-industrial society and an industrial society with the terms "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft".[9] "Gemeinschaft," which would correspond with the term "developing," was defined as the type of social organization in which people are bound to one another through kinship, tradition, friendship, or because of some other deeply uniting factor, as in a tribal or peasant societal structure.

"Gesellschaft" would substitute for the word "industrialized," in which the essential condition of the social relationship is one in which two parties promise to fulfill specific obligations to each other, or to forfeit specific commodities if the contract is breached. Each person has a specific role in relation to others — factory worker, journalist, doctor or street cleaner. This is a formal relationship in which individuals are isolated, and society is impersonal and anonymous, making a system of mass communication necessary.

Tonnies' theory offers the advantage of only two categories, into which it would be most convenient to insert developing and industrial nations. However, it does not entirely serve our purposes because it does not account for the qualitative differences between the "gemeinschaft" countries. We know, for example, that to a certain degree India, Pakistan, Nepal, Nicaragua and Zambia are all developing nations because a large portion of their populations exists under "gemeinschaft" relationships. However, we are still unable to account for their widely divergent characteristics, and the consequent implications for international agencies intending to assist them in the development of their media.

Perhaps the theory which best performs that function is the one formulated by Galbraith. He defines a developing nation as one whose economy cannot afford saving and investment from present consumption.[10] In his words, "Any purposeful increase in future production requires saving from present consumption." A nation, then, which has not

reached an adequate stage of economic development is one which cannot produce to the extent that some earnings can be saved and invested in future growth.

Galbraith's definition has particular current relevance because of the integration of the new world information order with the new economic order. "Information is power and economic information is economic power," said Louis Joinet of France's Justice Ministry. "Information has an economic value, and the ability to store and process certain types of data will give one country political and technical advantage over other countries."[11] Tunstall also draws a parallel between economic status and media prominence. He points out that modern media have been developed to such a high technical level that only the most economically advantaged countries, i.e., those which can make considerable investments in innovation, will be able to attain and maintain media prominence.[12]

There are weaknesses in Galbraith's definition: obviously it does not account for the condition of some of the oil-producing nations, a shortcoming we have noted in other definitions. The point we may have reached here is that a developing nation cannot be defined in economic terms alone, nor in strictly sociological terms. The theories of Lerner, Tonnies and Galbraith all have some validity, however, and perhaps when taken in combination will provide an appropriate definition for our purposes in dealing with mass media development.

Therefore let us adopt this definition: A developing nation is one which meets *one or more* of the following criteria:

1. Its economy cannot afford savings and investment from current consumption;

2. Its majority population have not yet reached a condition of formal social contract;

3. It has not yet reached a stage of urbanization where literacy and mass media permit a functional political consciousness.

THREE MODELS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS

Galbraith carries his theory a step further, and herein lies the greatest utility of his theory. He proceeds to account for many of the wide differences between developing nations by dividing them into three models which are not only recognizable from an economist's point of view, but which also provide us with some insights into the roles and problems each faces with regard to the effective implementation of its mass communication systems.

The three models are characterized by barriers to development, and to a minor extent by areas of the world. There will be exceptions, but the major exceptions are cited and assigned to a more appropriate model. For example, Nigeria does not fit into the pattern of the Sub-Saharan Model, Mexico does not correspond with the Latin American Model, and some of the Arab countries will fall more correctly into the Latin American Model. For this reason we shall later assign new names to the models according to specific barriers or obstacles to development, rather than Galbraith's geographical areas.

Model 1: Sub-Saharan Model

Principal Barrier: lack of trained technicians, managers and administrators, especially in the fields of government, economy and communication.

Most of these countries won their independence a relatively short time ago, and have

been frequently embroiled in internal political strife during their brief lifetimes. Under these circumstances, they have been unable to develop the necessary specialized personnel. There is frequently no one to handle public funds or the general economy competently, and there is no effective business, commercial or socially functional communication. Such conditions offer no encouragement for the investment of private foreign capital, for when capital funds are available, there are usually no competent people to manage them. Even technical assistance is useless if there is no one with the basic expertise to advise. Under these circumstances, the mass media exist at a very low level, if at all, and are unable to serve any constructive function in national development.

This lack of personnel at the upper administrative levels has led to extreme political instability in some instances. Frank Barton, a media consultant who has been assisting many of the sub-Saharan nations develop their media under the auspices of the International Press Institute and the Ford Foundation, reported nine changes of government in two weeks in the region during the late 1960s.[13] Since in most instances newspapers and broadcasting are controlled by the government, no continuity can be established under these circumstances, and newspapers are frequently forced to cease publication completely. According to one source, as late as 1979 there were nine black African nations without a daily newspaper.[14]

Model 2: Latin American Model (also Iraq and Syria)

Principal Barrier: the social structure

Although the majority of the population is poor, there exists an affluent, well-educated minority. Unlike the sub-Saharan model, the technical-managerial base is fairly wide, and there is a substantial education system. However, the affluent minority maintains its social and economic supremacy in ways which tend to produce a largely non-functional income, no economic incentives for agricultural workers, and inefficient production. This elite group is most often supported by ownership of vast amounts of rural land with little interest in its development, city landlordship, government employment or sinecure, or high position in the military. There are power struggles as different groups within the elite vie for control, and this leads to instability in industry. The government expends the major part of its energy maintaining its power, rather than in the interests of national development. The mass media exist for much the same purpose: to maintain the power structure and to promote the interests of the controlling group.

Model 3: South Asian Model (also Egypt)

Principal Barrier: drastically inefficient proportioning of the factors of production.

In these countries, especially India and Pakistan, the technical-managerial base is typically very wide. In fact, there is often a surplus of teachers, administrators, lawyers, journalists and scientists. There is usually some operative economic incentive. The major problem is a large, dense population, little savings and low capital, all of which impede industrial development. The majority of the population exists close to the subsistence level. Under these conditions the mass media exist, and are sometimes of superior quality. Three of India's newspapers, for example, have been categorized by Merrill as among the world's elite press.[15] The media in these countries, however, are geared largely to urban audiences, and there are vast differences between the rural and urban areas. The impoverished majority frequently lacks any form of mass communication, although in recent years broadcasting has made some inroads.

Galbraith's models, although not perfect, are valuable in that they indicate in what ways developing nations may differ. With these distinctions, perhaps we can make some generalizations about what types of measures might be taken by international agencies and organizations to assist nations toward more rapid development: more specifically, how to help them make more effective use of their mass media in their national development. Before proceeding further, however, let us assign new names to the models in order to make more clear the types of nations with which we shall be dealing.

Model 1 (Sub-Saharan) = Technical- Managerial Obstacle Model, (TMO Model).
Model 2 (Latin American) = Socio-Political Obstacle Model, (SPO Model).
Model 3 (South Asian) = Production-Demographic Obstacle Model, (PDO Model).

TMO MODEL

In Model 1 (TMO Model), where the principal barrier is a lack of trained technicians, managers and administrators, it must be recognized that capital alone would be of little effective use. In the mass media as in other areas, the major emphasis should be put upon the growth of administrative and technical personnel, something which for the most part was ignored by the colonizers, with the notable exception of Nigeria.

In most cases, the mass media, if indeed they could be termed "mass," were developed by the colonial powers to serve their own ends exclusively. They financed, directed and staffed the media with outsiders who usually had little interest in training indigenous journalists or technicians, or in developing any local communication networks. This was more true in Francophone Africa than in Anglophone Africa, according to Barton[16]. In parts of British East Africa there actually existed a small African press, but it was owned by whites, and its African workers were carefully screened.

Nigeria was a more notable exception. Unlike other British and European colonies, Nigeria had comparatively few white settlers, but mainly traders and administrators. Nigerians were trained for positions of responsibility, and many were graduated from British universities. The press, in general, was quite competently run. While the majority of newspapers were owned by Lord Thompson of Fleet, they were staffed largely by Nigerians, and there were a few newspapers owned and operated by blacks. None of the other newly independent states of sub-Saharan Africa possessed the trained personnel to maintain their mass media, to say nothing of using them effectively in the interests of national development.

Building a technical-managerial base takes time and money, and in the meantime the business of general development must proceed. The growth and functional use of the mass media are not usually assigned a high priority. An immediate and temporary measure in these circumstances might be to bring in foreign specialists — editors, writers, electronic media experts and business managers — who could work with indigenous trainees in order to transfer their expertise and responsibility as rapidly as possible, beginning at basic levels. This is currently being done in some of the less developed areas of Nigeria.

The importing of foreign specialists, however, raises two major problems. The first is that professional training is a long and costly process, and many developing nations are reluctant to invest their sparse resources in this undertaking. Further, in nations where the bitter taste of colonialism and exploitation still lingers strongly on the national palate, there is bound to be some suspicion, resentment and resistance. There is generally less of these when the foreign experts are not representatives of a foreign government, but are financed by media groups, independent international organizations or charitable foundations. With the advent of informatics, which is now the world's third largest industry[17],

private industry will almost certainly have to become a partner in this movement.

The second problem, which is not unique to the TMO Model, concerns the difference between the indigenous culture and that of the foreign specialists. Culture, after all, has developed over many generations, even many centuries. It is a completely integrated, functional and logical whole. In other words, there is a strong valid reason for a particular culture pattern to exist. In addition, every culture has its own value system which gives it stability. Naturally it is subject to stresses and strains, and to differential rates of change, for culture is dynamic. And one of the major catalysts of cultural change, of social change, is contact between different societies.

There are various ways of introducing change into a culture without causing undue strain, or without confronting strong resistance. But in order to accomplish this, foreign advisers must be extremely well acquainted with the indigenous culture and with its value system. This is just as true of mass communication as any other social institution: perhaps more so. For culture is a logical and balanced whole, and a significant change in any social institution, or aspect of a culture, cannot occur without accommodation in those institutions or aspects with which it interacts. The degree of social change which is possible is limited by the extent to which these accommodations occur. The foreign adviser should recognize this, and treat mass communication not as an isolated and special phenomenon, but as a social institution which is, and must remain, an integral part of the social, economic and political fabric. If foreign experts and international agencies do not take this into consideration, they will be no more effective than were the colonial administrators who were so thoroughly despised.

One way of overcoming this second problem might be to secure experts from countries with similar cultures, when possible. For example, Lebanon has had a highly developed mass media system, as well as universities with respected mass communication programs. Editors and professors from Beirut might prove more effective in the less developed Arab countries, or other Islamic countries, than, say, those from America or Great Britain. At least they would begin with an understanding of some basic problems and situations which would be completely alien to a Westerner, and they would find fewer culture barriers in their interpersonal communication.

In addition to temporary intensive measures of providing technological materials and specialized knowledge to countries conforming to the TMO Model, there should be a long-range program to expand literacy, then secondary education, and finally higher education and vocational training. In the meantime, ways must be found to reach the non-urban areas effectively, for these are the areas least subject to social change. Sometimes this is a problem with dimensions which those not familiar with the area find difficult to comprehend. For example, in Zambia, a nation of some five million people, information would have to be broadcast in *70* different languages or dialects in order to reach the entire national audience.

It should be pointed out here that technical and managerial training for the mass media, in addition to capital funds, do not guarantee their effective use in national development. Nigeria is again a case in point. Prior to the Biafran secession in 1967, there existed, according to Barton, the most technically advanced press in black Africa.[18] In addition, there was total press freedom, which Barton says was exercised with complete irresponsibility, fanning tribal tensions into a war which probably resulted in more than two million casualties.[19]

Few sub-Saharan countries which represent the TMO Model now possess any appreciable degree of press freedom. In the 1977 Comparative Study of Press Freedom, only

two African countries, Botswana and Gambia, were characterized as "free," and only these and three other sub-Saharan states permitted opposition parties.[20]

It is not the purpose of this paper to pass judgment on whether press freedom or independent media are necessary, advisable, or even possible for national development in a TMO model country. It is generally accepted, however, that mass media do play a vital role in national development. Yet, despite considerable international assistance in both training and equipment to many of these countries, restrictive measures and other factors appear to have stifled the growth of their media.

It has already been mentioned that nine African nations have no daily newspapers. This is only part of the picture, however. According to a survey cited in *Atlas World Press Review*, there were 220 daily newspapers in Africa in 1964, shortly after the majority of sub-Saharan nations gained independence. In 1970 this number had declined to 179, and in 1979 a survey revealed that only 145 remained: a decrease of nearly one-third.[21]

The point is that newspapers, and it might be assumed that the same is true for other media, are not performing the role which they ought to be in the development effort. It would appear that the training of operatives and managers, and the supplying of technical materials and capital, is not enough. The international agencies involved in assistance efforts must take it their responsibility to make certain that there is an understanding by both the media personnel and government officials of policies and procedures which will render the mass media effective in national development under that nation's particular circumstances.

To express it in other terms, if new tools are provided to these nations, efforts must be made not only to train people to use them, but to show them and the owners of the new tools how they can be utilized to produce the greatest beneficial effect on national development. Too often this is not adequately considered, and the tools are used ineffectually, or even to promote narrow interests which are counterproductive for the nation. This problem is not exclusive to the TMO Model, for it may exist in the other models as well.

PDO Model

We shall deal with Model 3, the Production-Demographic Obstacle (PDO) Model next, for here again the measures to be taken are quite well defined. This model shares some of the problems of the TMO Model with reference to international assistance for media development. In addition to the lack of capital, the problem of foreign cultural intrusion exists, as evidenced by India's frequent complaints about the monopoly of Western media and the flood of Western cultural values through international news channels. But the major barrier to development here is radically different from that of the TMO Model. Here the emphasis should be upon funds for the expansion of the mass media, but not without accompanying research into the most effective means for the media to perform the necessary social and economic functions. This of course includes the dissemination of information to the rural masses. The information should pertain not only to means of increasing agricultural production and improving hygiene and nutrition, but also to reducing human reproduction. Technical and managerial personnel are available for the implementation of such programs when capital and guidance are provided.

An international project of this nature was undertaken in India with foundation and international agency support, and a similar project was conducted in Brazil. Both of these countries have population and literacy problems which are aggravated by the difficulty of building conventional communication systems, or terrestrial networks, because of financial

and physical obstacles. However, by means of point-to-point satellites with multi-destination capabilities, remote villages and communities have been able to improve their literacy rates and hygiene. Teachers have been specially trained to complement and reinforce programs transmitted by satellite from urban centers and viewed in rural schools.

Recent advances in the technology of direct broadcasting satellites (DBS) offer potential for use by developing nations, according to Wigand, who says that an entire national broadcast system could be established at relatively low cost by avoiding terrestrial connections and by utilizing community receivers. "Past demonstrations have already shown," he says, "that satellite broadcasting holds substantial promise of accelerating national development for educational purposes in such areas as literacy, family planning, health care, training in agricultural and mechanical skills, and others."[22]

Although the evidence is convincing that such programs can prove very effective, they are still some years away from realization, and they will require considerable sums of money, which means that in most cases they can be undertaken only with international support. In the meantime, these nations must be encouraged to take advantage of their wide technical-managerial base and direct their resources toward the most effective function of serving *all* of their society in a constructive way, rather than concentrating them totally within urban areas. For this they will obviously require governmental direction and support.

SPO Model

In the case of Model 2, the Socio-Political Obstacle (SPO) Model, in which the principal barrier is the social structure, it is perhaps relatively easy to prescribe what the role of the mass media *should* be, but extremely difficult to imagine the nations of this model performing that role, given the existing conditions. A profound social change would appear to be necessary; but how can the mass media be instrumental in effecting such a change when the media are under the control of the interests which oppose any change?

This appears to be a much more difficult problem than those faced by nations of the TMO and PDO Models. It is indeed even more difficult when foreign influences support power structures which render major changes impossible, primarily for international political reasons. Two cases in point are the alleged interference of the USA in the domestic affairs of Chile, in opposition to the political party which proposed sweeping social reforms, and USA support of the Shah of Iran before that country fell to the revolutionary forces under the inspiration of the Ayatollah Khomeini, one of whose declared aims was to overturn the social structure.

In cases where some newspapers or broadcasting stations in Latin American nations fitting the SPO Model have dared to propose radical social and political changes, the results have often been disastrous: revocation of licenses, imprisonment, and sometimes even assassination. The only realistic hope lies not in revolution, for these have proven most often to be failures in altering the social structure for the better, but in evolution: a gradual change, with a turnover in generations, with the mass media utilizing whatever freedom they possess to introduce new philosophies, values and priorities.

In the meantime, organizations and agencies involved with international communication, such as UNESCO, the International Press Institute and the Inter-American Press Association, should continue their efforts not only to expose cases of abuse of media personnel and practice, but also to propose programs and methods of utilizing the mass media more effectively in developmental activities outside of the political sphere. In addition, remembering that the greatest determinant of social change is contact between

different societies, they should expand their efforts to bring students and young practitioners and administrators of the media in these countries into frequent and meaningful contact with their counterparts in more democratic countries.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Programs of the type cited under the three models above will probably not entirely redress the grievances voiced by the Third World over the imbalanced flow of world information. However, recent studies suggest that these imbalances may be greatly exaggerated. Cole and Stevenson conclude in a preliminary study for UNESCO that Third World news, not Western news, dominates the media of the Third World, and that the entire case for dominance of Western news agencies is questionable. "Even the smallest countries," the report states, "are able to use their own correspondents and national agencies for a significant part of their foreign news."[23]

Further studies of this nature will be closely watched. Whatever the results, however, Western media representatives agree that there should be more positive news about development in Third World nations. Third World representatives have gone further. Masmoudi, in calling for a greater sense of responsibility among media professionals, suggests the establishment of an international deontology governing information and communications, under a system of self-regulation by professional media organizations.[24] However, the more militant Third World nations have called for international regulation, which the West feels would be counterproductive to effective international communication.

There are two years before the next general conference of UNESCO, when these questions will be voted upon. Meanwhile, there is time to explore other avenues to resolution, first recognizing the problems which actually exist, recognizing also that the approach to solving these problems in various developing countries is different, and finally, marshalling the international resources to attempt to effect solutions through these different approaches.

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, developing nations are diverse in nature, sharing fewer common problems with respect to the development of their mass media than is commonly supposed. Most of them do, however, tend to fall into one of three models defined in terms of barriers to development. These models are useful in more clearly understanding the major obstacles to the development of the mass media in certain types of developing nations. Armed with this greater understanding, and with the acceptance of the fact that developing nations can profit in different ways from the resources of the industrialized world, we are better able to recommend effective procedures to be followed by international organizations, charitable foundations and private industry in assisting Third World nations to make better use of their mass media in national development, and to bring them further into the mainstream of world communication.

NOTES

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[1]IPI REPORT, Vol. 29, No. 5 (Nov. 1980) p. 1.

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[3]Cees J. Hamelink, "Informatics: Third World Call For New Order," *Journal of Communication*, 29(3) 1979, p. 147.

[4]Harvard University, Program on Information and Resources, "Information Resources Policy," Annual Report 1975-76, Vol. 2, Cambridge, Mass.

[5]Herbert I. Schiller, *Mass Communications and American Empire* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971).

[6]Herbert I. Schiller, "Computer Systems: Power For Whom And For What?" *Journal of Communication*, 28(4) 1978, p. 184.

[7]Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1958).

[8]*UNESCO Statistical Yearbook*, 1978-79.

[9]Ferdinand Tonnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969).

[10]John Kenneth Galbraith, "Three Models of Developing Nations," *Dialogue*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1968) pp. 3-12.

[11]Speech to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), quoted in Hamelink (see 3, above).

[12]Jeremy Tunstall, *The Media Are American* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

[13]Frank Barton, "The Press Situation in Sub-Saharan Africa," Paper presented at the International Seminar in Mass Communication, Sali, Yugoslavia, July 1971.

[14]ATLAS WORLD PRESS REVIEW, Vol. 25 No. 4 (April 1973) p. 50.

[15]John C. Merrill, *The Elite Press: Great Newspapers of the World* (New York: Pitman, 1968).

[16]Barton

[17]Hamelink, p. 148.

[18]Frank Barton, "A World Survey of Press Freedom," Paper presented at the International Seminar in Mass Communication, Sali, Yugoslavia, July 1971.

[19]NEW YORK TIMES, Jan. 13, 1:8, 1970.

[20]ATLAS WORLD PRESS REVIEW, Vol. 25 No. 4 (April 1978) p. 50.

[21]ATLAS WORLD PRESS REVIEW

[22]Rolf Wigand, "The Direct Satellite Connection," *Journal of Communication*, 30(2) 1980, p. 146.

[23]Richard R. Cole and Robert L. Stevenson, "Foreign News Flow and the UNESCO Debate," Paper presented at the International Studies Association Meeting, Los Angeles, March 1980.

[24]Mustapha Masmoudi, "The New World Information Order," *Journal of Communication*, 29(2) 1979, p. 183.

THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF AMERICAN TELEVISION ABROAD: AN OVERVIEW OF CRITICISM AND RESEARCH

MICHAEL A. DESOUSA

This article surveys different perspectives of the cultural imperialism thesis as it applies to the international flow of U.S. television programs. The survey concludes that current discussion of cultural domination via the media is too often grounded in ideological debate instead of sound research. A call is made for mass communication research which will increase our understanding of the impact of U.S. television programs on other cultures.

Recent decades have been characterized by the real or perceived threat of the domination of one geographical area by another. The 1940's announced the real possibility of world domination by the Nazi war machine, while the 1950's and the Cold War produced anxieties regarding the potential for political domination through espionage and propaganda. The 1960's found Europe awakening to the reality of American economic control of European business and industry. When the French journalist J.J. Servan-Schreiber writes of "The American Challenge," he is referring to American economic domination of Europe.[1]

By the 1970's, however, a different form of domination was being attributed to the United States: global domination of mass communications technology, distribution, and software. While such domination was said to encompass a wide range of political, economic, and social issues, various sub-species of this supposed domination were united under the charge of "cultural imperialism."[2] While media experts are not agreed on its respective causes and effects they generally accept a common definition of what cultural imperialism is held to be. One British analyst offers the following description: "The cultural imperialism thesis claims that authentic, traditional and local culture in many parts of the world is being battered out of existence by the indiscriminate dumping of large quantities of slick commercial and media products, mainly from the United States. Those who make this argument most forcibly tend to favour restrictions upon media imports, plus the deliberate preservation of authentic and traditional culture."[3]

Another scholar who speaks forcibly on the issue of cultural imperialism is American mass communications scholar Herbert Schiller. In *Communication and Cultural Domination*, he offers this definition: "The concept of cultural imperialism today best describes the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system."[4]

This charge of cultural imperialism is especially significant today given the growing influence of mass communications and satellite technology as we apparently move toward what McLuhan termed the "global village."[5] The cultural imperialism charge is a broad one, extending to the major media — television, radio, telephone, film, print — as well as other exported American structures such as American models of education, American business conglomerates, training of local employees, and American health care services in other countries. The range of effects of the exportation of American culture is equally broad. A 1976 UNESCO study of the effects of cross-cultural broadcasting divided effects into cultural, linguistic, political, and psychological dimensions.[6]

In order to focus upon a specific issue, this paper will concentrate on an especially visible medium, television, in an effort to survey the cultural impact of American popular

television series which are exported to foreign markets. Reviewed will be the apparent presence of American television in foreign countries, as well as the hypothesized impact that such programs have had on their viewers. Also to be reported are the small but growing number of studies which examine various dimensions of the impact that American television programming has had in other countries. Finally, this paper will propose areas for future research and evaluate the prevailing orientations to such research.

As with any area of research, it is important to examine our motivation for exploring this aspect of mass communications. One motive may be purely self-serving. If we accept Browne's[7] rather obvious premise that most foreigners come to know Americans not through first hand experience, but through the mediated experience of American mass media, then it is more than mere curiosity which prompts us to discover how we are represented by our envoys. Our national interests, both political and economic, are inevitably tied to the "personae" we present to the world. In an age of global interdependence it is not vanity, but national survival, which should motivate us into discovering how other peoples come to know a specific nation.

A second major reason for exploring the impact of American television programs on foreign markets is essentially an ethical one. Given our daily concern over the potential educational, sociological, and psychological impact of television on our own population, can we be less concerned about such effects on foreign viewers who are receiving the same video fare? In his early survey of the status of television throughout the world, Wilson Dizard argues that awareness of the scope of American television interests will lead to concern over the impact of such influence: "Americans are beginning to ask questions about our part in this development. Most of the discussion so far has centered around the allegedly baleful influence of our television program exports. This concern is justified because much of what foreigners see on their TV screen is, directly or indirectly, American."[8]

Dizard goes on to note that Americans have experienced by the time of his survey (mid-1960's) almost two decades of television, while many developing countries were just beginning to experience it. Television's "uncanny power to identify and define for people the world around them," should convince us that, although primarily an entertainment medium, we should not underestimate television's potential for world influence.[9]

Herbert Schiller concurs with this observation while noting that our conception of communication needs to be expanded in order to fully appreciate the powerful potential of television communication: "Communication, it needs to be said, includes much more than messages and the recognizable circuits through which the messages flow. It defines social reality and thus influences the organization of work, the character of technology, the curriculum of the educational system, formal and informal, and the use of "free" time — actually, the basic social arrangements of living."[10]

AMERICAN TELEVISION PRESENCE

In one of the first studies of the influence of American mass media on foreign markets, Herbert Schiller bemoans the lack of a comprehensive inventory of American television flow. "How completely the international community is being blanketed by radio/television programming produced in the United States or in U.S.-financed facilities overseas, has never been fully documented." Schiller's own study was primarily concerned with determining the impact of official broadcasting agencies like the U.S. Information Agency and the Voice of America.[11] Yet his complaint over the lack of survey data has been

at least tentatively answered with the publication of the first world-wide survey of the flow of television program content in 1974.[12] The UNESCO-sponsored survey of fifty nations revealed empirically what had long been suspected intuitively; American domination of the world television market was almost comparable to the American domination of the world film market which had been documented by Guback.[13]

While at least one observer would hyphenate this hegemony as an Anglo-American enterprise,[14] given the importance of London as a telefilm distribution center, the lion's share of the television program market was solidly U.S.-held. An analysis of the UNESCO survey quickly revealed that television traffic was indeed a "one-way street" for the United States, since it imported only one to two percent of its programming (commercial and public television respectively) while exporting heavily to Western Europe, Canada, the Middle East, and especially Latin America.[15]

In a summary of the larger report, co-author Tapio Varis notes that in the early 1970's only five nations with television networks imported no television programming from the U.S.: Albania, Mongolia, People's Republic of China, North Korea, and North Vietnam.[16] In the survey itself, Varis and Nordenstreng discovered that while there are a few nations which supply almost all their own programming needs — United States, Soviet Union, Japan — the norm was for relatively high importation of program materials, ranging from ten to eighty percent. Roughly one-half the television programs in Latin America are imported, while one-third to one-fourth of Western European television programming originates from other than the host country. While their sample of African television is admittedly weak, again the fifty percent importation ratio is found.[17]

While four nations lead in the export of telefilm — U.S.A., Great Britain, Germany(G.D.R.), and France — the United States dominates overall, selling as much as 200,000 hours of programming per year in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The American share of the Western European import market ranged from forty to sixty percent, while U.S. programs almost totally dominated the Latin American import market. Australia imported two-thirds American programming, the rest British. Even a few Iron Curtain countries such as Yugoslavia have imported considerable amounts of American television material.[18]

More recent data have demonstrated that even countries with national policies to limit the importation of foreign media materials have not been very successful in limiting American television influence. Both Canada and Australia have established national programs to protect their respective cultural autonomies as well as domestic media industries, but have had little success in repelling the American television presence.[19]

While there remain some questions regarding the interpretation of the Varis and Nordenstreng survey of global television traffic and whether American television dominance started waning in the late 1960's,[20] and while there are signs that foreign production of telefilm is increasing,[21] it is still clear that the United States dominates the world television program market. It may be worth briefly considering how such domination came to be.

One position holds that American domination of world television programming has been the natural result of U.S. marketing expertise and the good fortune not to have had World War II fought on U.S. soil. Available capital and postwar stability provided the perfect climate for the growth of a television industry which would eventually seek new markets for its products abroad. As Thomas Guback notes in *The International Film Industry*, the distribution networks resulting from Hollywood's control of the world film market also played essential roles in the rapid growth of American television overseas.

The economic requirements of television production are, of course, staggering. Yet television stations in even poor countries are constrained by "professional pride," as Katz maintains,[22] to broadcast at least six to ten hours of programming a day. That calls for two thousand hours per year, an unrealistic production schedule for television stations in most developing countries. So a station or network will contract to buy a number of episodes of *Bonanza* or *Ironside* at a few hundred dollars per episode or more, dependent upon their viewership. Such costs per hour are considerably lower than the one to two thousand dollars per hour production costs of even shoddy local material; the rental price pales to insignificance considering the $200,000 spent by Hollywood to produce that one-hour episode of the popular program. Instead of enormous capital outlays for studios, technicians, technology, etc., broadcasting officials in many nations, developing and industrialized, soon discover it is more economical to lease American programs than to produce their own materials. While the prohibitive economics of television production favors nations with programming to sell over developing nations without adequate programming, it is especially advantageous to the United States, given its annual surplus of programming due to ratings and popular tastes.

The above position argues that American domination of world television, far from being a consciously unified strategy, has been the result of dynamic business practices and free market economics. Another position takes issue with the statement that American television primacy has been the result of simple supply and demand.

This alternative explanation for American television hegemony attributes more conscious planning to the enterprise. Several critics, notably Wells[23] and Schiller,[24] have argued that American media power has been the result of careful planning by the American government and its broadcasting institutions. Jeremy Tunstall offers his interpretation of the early Schiller position in *The Media Are American:* "The great expansion of American television into the world around 1960 — equipment, programming, and advertising — is seen by Schiller as part of a general effort of the American military industrial complex to subject the world to military control, electronic surveillance, and homogenized American commercial culture . . . . This export boom has, and is intended to have, the effect of muting political protest in much of the world; local and authentic culture in many countries is driven on to the defensive by homogenized American culture. Traditional national drama and folk music retreat before *Peyton Place* and *Bonanza.*"[25] Schiller himself articulates his critical premise in his *Communication and Cultural Domination*: "Assisted by the sophisticated communications technology developed in the militarily oriented space program, techniques of persuasion, manipulation, and cultural penetration are becoming steadily more important *and more deliberate* in the exercise of American power . . . . Made-in-America messages, imagery, life-styles, and information techniques are being internationally circulated and, equally important, globally imitated."[26]

The concept of "free flow" of communications which purports to represent the principle of equal exchange of information among nations is criticized by adherents to this second explanation for American television domination throughout the world. Free flow is seen as a smokescreen for the right of media powers to exploit the media have-nots.[27] Developing nations especially are seen in need of international regulatory protection in order to defend themselves from the onslaught of foreign (corrupting) images and messages.[28] This second explanation holds that America's imperialistic tendencies have been submerged into national communications policies, and that, through the close cooperation of the American government and the American media bosses, the commercial, even political conquest of much of the world has been achieved.

EXPORTED PROGRAMMING

Many dimensions of American culture have been cited as contributing to the cultural imperialism thesis: the impact of Hollywood, American news services, foreign schools based on American education, and American market research on foreign business practices. Yet it is American television which is most often singled out as having the most deleterious impact on other nations. Before examining studies which have attempted to isolate the impact of American television overseas, it is important to know what type of programming is primarily exported and why.

While the cross-cultural broadcasting of television entails many different types of programming,[29] such as sports, news, cultural events, and educational programs, the dominant program export of American television has been entertainment programming. Even in non-Western cultures, when a choice is offered, viewers prefer program content which involves dramatic or comedic material. For example, a nation like India which has attempted to use television for technical and agricultural education of outlying villages has found that such educational programs are ignored in favor of light entertainment.[30]

With the exception of some of the state-run noncommercial networks in Eastern Europe, entertainment or fictional material comprises almost fifty percent of the programming schedule in nations throughout the world.[31] Thus, there is good reason to study the impact of such programs since they dominate television structure world-wide. The reasons that entertainment programming has been the major American television export are both obvious and surprising.

First, situation comedies, soap operas, and detective dramas are the major television exports to other nations simply because these are the dominant genres domestically. The commercial nature of American broadcasting and its attendant demand for mass audiences rather than smaller elite audiences ensures that programs which secure large audiences would be most in demand. The great stock of American telefilm consists of current or former entertainment series. These products are attractive to foreign buyers because they are the programs most often available in large quantities. For example, the several hundred episodes of *Bonanza* or *I Love Lucy* available to the foreign broadcaster assure that something will be filling air time for quite a while. The potential for volume buying of entertainment programming, and the tendency for only entertainment programming to have had long runs on American television combine to produce the reality that most exported material tends to be light entertainment rather than documentary or educational material.

The second explanation for the dominance of fictional material in American television exporting concerns the fundamental attraction of the medium itself as a means of escape and identification with characters and situations. That viewers use television, specifically entertainment programming to satisfy a wide range of socio-emotional needs is assumed in this article and is easily corroborated by both critical and research work. The enduring attraction of fiction in both primitive and contemporary forms is also assumed. To some degree television simply expands and enhances man's participation in the oldest of expressive forms, the *fictio*, or construction of a reality.[32]

A final reason for the prevalence of American entertainment programming on the world television market, indirectly noted by Browne, is based on his exposure to international sales personnel working in television.[33] The salesmen explained that one implicit criterion for foreign selection of a U.S. program is that the program avoid dealing with controversial subject matter. Television programs produced in the U.S. which treat sensitive issues of sex, race, or politics are unlikely to be selected by foreign broadcasting officials who want to avoid fomenting unrest at home.[34] For example, dramatic programs

dealing with the exploits of urban guerillas would not be welcome in Latin American countries wrestling with explosive political problems. Therefore, the "sitcom" and the domestic drama are desirable media products because they fill the small screen while avoiding serious social themes.

It can be seen, then, especially after exposure to more quantitative materials, entertainment is a major export of American television distributors.[35] Yet it has been educational rather than entertainment programming which has received the bulk of attention from scholars and researchers. The UNESCO study of cross-cultural broadcasting prepared by Stanford University noted this disparity in concluding that research emphasis on educational exports like *Sesame Street* avoids the reality that most exports from the U.S. simply do not fit into the educational genre.[36] A subsidiary purpose of this article is to point out that imbalance of attention.

IMPACT OF AMERICAN TELEVISION

In the conclusion to the UNESCO survey of cross-cultural broadcasting noted above, the authors state: "General entertainment programming has a definite social value, but most observers would hope for programming more explicitly geared to the social needs of their diverse audiences. Furthermore, imported entertainment programs produced for foreign audiences penetrate the host culture in ways that are not understood. Lack of understanding generates uneasiness and fear."[37]

To that conclusion one might add that lack of understanding also generates academic debate. Most of the debate, however, is grounded not in research but in political ideology, and, therefore, it may be of only limited value. Although somewhat artificial, it is possible to dichotomize contemporary media observers into two camps regarding the impact of American television on foreign audiences.

Some observers posit an implicit powerful effects model of mass communication, arguing that the continuous bombardment with foreign f(American) images and messages will undermine the local values, beliefs, and customs. These observers argue that American commercial values apparent not only in advertising but in the programs themselves will replace folk values based on the family, the land, religion, etc. Television content as insidious propaganda will alienate viewers from their existing social world. Schiller notes: "Communications material from the United States offers a vision of a way of life. The image is of a mountain of material artifacts, privately furnished and individually acquired and consumed. The emphasis in the programming and advertising is on the first and last elements of the American tryptych."[38]

Elihu Katz shares the fear that the mass media, as agents of modernization, will overwhelm or overthrow the cultural systems of both large and small societies. He writes: "Modernization brings in its wake a standardization and secularization of culture, such that the traditional values and arts — those that give a culture its character — are overwhelmed by the influx of Western popular culture. Rock music and comic books and Kojak threaten not only tribal cultures but the great traditions of societies such as Thailand, Israel, and Iran."[39]

Katz, however, sees salvation for the host culture if local producers utilize the mass medium television for the production of their own software which recreates and celebrates the common cultural history. But without local programming Katz would agree with Schiller, *et al.*, that foreign, especially non-Western societies, will continue to be shoved into the Western social reality without being prepared for the transition.

A number of other media experts do not share the fear that America will neutralize foreign cultures via its mass media, particularly television. Ithiel de Sola Pool[40] considers American television domination to be merely a transitory phenomenon, a stage in the diffusion if a technology. Pool maintains that local barriers of language, social support, and culture mediate against a strong influence by American television. There is a natural bias for domestic television production which eventually surfaces at the appropriate stage of societal development. Pool continues: "Local products are protected by barriers of culture. Domestic products portray characters eating the foods the people eat, wearing the clothes they wear, celebrating the events they celebrate, and gossiping about the celebrities they follow. Allusion is a large part of what art is about. Foreign works of art have jokes that are harder to get, stereotypes that do not ring a bell, situations that do not come from daily life. In general culture does not need protection. Culture is what people are already attached to. If the culture is satisfactory, if it is not itself already in the process of decomposition, the audience will not look primarily abroad."[41]

In two studies Browne concurs that American television may be expected to have only limited impact on foreign markets, one, because, despite appearances, American programs are not necessarily preferred over local programs,[42] and two, because the lack of a universal visual language results in confusion or misunderstanding of American programs, thus deflating their cultural impact.[43]

Therefore, we have two views of the major critical positions regarding the probable cultural impact of American television on foreign viewers. The first position would hold that American television serves as a dangerous model for foreigners who perceive it as reflecting a desirable social reality based on commercial values and docility. The second critical view holds that local barriers of language, custom, and preference mediate against American television having considerable impact. From this perspective, foreigners view American television as a curiosity which only dominates their television sets out of economic necessity due to its low cost compared to local production of programs. A third critical perspective, based on an understanding of the role of context in the communicative process, arrives at a fuller understanding of the role of context through the examination of actual field work exploring the impact of American television on foreign cultures. As a review of the research which follows will demonstrate, contextual factors such as previous exposure to television, social structure, viewer age, and relative isolation from other aspects of U.S. culture must be understood before one can make valid determinations about the impact of U.S. television programming on other cultures.

REVIEW OF FIELD RESEARCH

A crucial weakness of the Schiller *et al.* position regarding the probable impact of American television on diverse people[44] is a lack of appreciation for the role of context or environment in the communicative process. Context is defined here to signify the complete range of situational, historical, and interpersonal/intrapersonal factors which may influence the decoding of a message. Studies in culture and communication[45] have ably demonstrated the fallacy of too easily equating human communication processes with the mechanics of transmission and reception integral to machine communications. In rejecting the intentional fallacy, such studies question the validity of assuming that presence equals direct influence.

For example, a direct influence approach to communication might be resident in the argument that intensive viewing of American police dramas or Westerns will eventually induce certain supposedly American values about the nature of violence, crime, and victims. Within this transmission model of communication one would expect that pro-

longed viewing of violent television programs might encourage the same sort of violence or anxiety about violence in a foreign people that such viewing apparently induces in the American people.[46]

Such a position would neglect a critical consideration in attempting to brand U.S. television as corrupting or symbolic of a global homogenized culture. That consideration is the interaction of setting, audience, timing, expectations, etc. in the communication situation. Television programs as messages do not become decoded *in vacuo*. Meaning is always a function not only of intention on the part of the transmitter, but of interpretation on the part of the receiver. Thus television shows with violent content will necessarily be interpreted within the prevailing cultural context of what violence is. For example, while links are sometimes drawn between violent American television and a violent American society, no such link can be established between the gorey violence of popular Japanese television and the low incidence of criminal violence in Japan.[47]

While the lack of a *context* concept has led media critics to exaggerate the amount and type of influence American television has on foreign viewers, the lack of an appreciation of American culture on the part of these viewers would predictably result in misunderstanding or selective perception of American television messages. We have the example of the German media expert who, lacking the American cultural heritage of the Wild West, and reflecting his own nation's experiences with totalitarianism, pronounces teleision Westerns like *Bonanza* and *High Chaparral* as educational programs.[48] He perceives such programs as object lessons in brutality, authoritarianism, and political indoctrination. It is not necessary to dispute the German critic's interpretation of such programs; indeed, many domestic critics have come to similar conclusions about the subliminal appeals of certain enduring American video genres. It is important, however, to note that most viewers of these programs would violently disagree with the critic's pronouncements. Americans weaned on the Western as a dimension of authentic American folklore would respond much more positively in detailing the values that such programs embody. The meaning of American Westerns is as much a function of the context in which they are decoded as the intention of some nameless scriptwriters who constructed the genre. This principle is essential to understanding the review of research which follows.

Unfortunately, only a small number of field research studies have been completed which have explored the impact of American television programs on foreign audiences. These studies are valuable inasmuch as they provide glimpses of important information as well as point out the need for further, more extensive, research. Recent field research appears to have developed along two different lines of inquiry.

The first research perspective, evidenced by a limited number of studies, focuses on the effects of television viewing on peoples who have not seen television before. Although most of the program content seen by such peoples happens to be American in origin, it is difficult to discern whether specific effects are the result of television content or simply the presence of the new medium itself.

One such study points to the hypothesis that foreign cultures will integrate television into their existing cultural patterns. Granzberg and associates[49] maintain that in order to understand the impact of television on selected Cree Indian communities in Northern Canada, it is first necessary to understand the Cree conceptualization of communication over great distances. Since the Cree believe that such communication is possible only through two existing forms, the conjuring (magic) of the village shaman and in dreams, television as a new form of long distance communication assumed a special validity in the community. Since conjuring and dreams were essentially truthful experiences, programs

like *Tarzan*, *Cannon*, and *Hawaii 5-0* were perceived by the Indians as truthful and portentous events. Thus the Indians studied had considerable difficulty in making what we would consider the easy distinction between reality and fiction. As the authors note: "Thus among the Cree, traditional conceptions of communication influence the way new media are perceived and used. The traditional conceptions seem to cause the Cree to be very susceptible to TV, to take it literally and seriously, to idolize the superhero characters, to read special messages into it concerning behavioral requirements, and to be especially concerned about its potential harm to children."[50]

Another study involving the introduction of television to an Eskimo village similarly found that television tended to be integrated into the existing cultural structure and that protectionist fears were essentially ungrounded.[51] The major impact of television was not related to content; village attendance at social events fell off dramatically as an apparent response to the new medium itself regardless of program content. If one accepts Esslin's[52] characterization of the television series as a folk epic, then one would expect that misunderstanding, not change, would be the response of other peoples to projections of the American popular consciousness. Programs would be influential only to the degree they could be perceived as functional equivalents of domestic popular narratives. Only if U.S. popular television participates in archetypal themes of heroism, rebirth, or redemption should one expect it to be particularly influential in cultures first experiencing television, and even then probably no more influential than the domestic narratives present in oral history or folklore.[53]

The second approach to field research examining the impact of American television on foreign cultures involves research in nations which already have television but are exposed to both U.S. and domestic programming. In his study of the impact of U.S. programs like *Gunsmoke*, *Combat*, *Lassie*, *Bonanza*, and *Branded* on the value systems of Formosan children, Tsai[54] discovered that, while extensive viewing of U.S. as opposed to Formosan television did influence children's perceptions of the United States, such viewing did not erode their adherence to traditional Chinese values. Tsai posits a selective viewing hypothesis consistent with much research completed in the U.S. Such research has tempered the once widely held view that mass media necessarily entail powerful effects on fundamentally defenseless viewers. Tsai concludes: "A child views TV selectively. If the new views or the new stimuli in a program run counter to central beliefs — that is, existing knowledge, attitudes, and the home background — they may not be perceived or, if perceived, rejected. Our TV children hold strongly to views which are learned from the family, in school, and in other communication media. Even frequent, extensive exposure to the values of another culture, on television, do not seem to influence this fundamental orientation."[55]

While offering conflicting interpretations for their results, two different studies of the cultural impact of American television on Canadians also conclude that American television might achieve only marginal impact in influencing attitudes of foreign viewers. Sparkes[56] found no significant difference in attitudes about Canadian versus U.S. political and social realities in Canadian viewers who watched solely U.S. or Canadian television programs. In their study of Canadian and American viewers of the program *All in the Family*, Tate and Surlin[57] found significant differences in the ways that the respective audiences related to this popular U.S. program. Canadian viewers perceived considerably less humor in this situation comedy than comparable American viewers; this finding corroborates Pool's hypothesis that humor is one of those dimensions of a foreign message most likely to be misunderstood or missed by non-members of the originating culture.

Canadian viewers also perceived less realism in *All in the Family* than their American

counterparts, again reflecting the importance of cultural context in making judgments of realism versus fiction in television programming. In both studies involving Canadian viewers watching American television programs, any conception of a strong cultural imperialism thesis is questionable.

One objection to the study of Canadian viewers, however, is that they may not really represent a "foreign" culture, given their proximity to the United States. This objection is somewhat negated in Wilhoit and de Bock's study[58] of the impact of *All in the Family* on Dutch viewers. They found that Dutch viewers of this subtitled situation comedy engaged in selective behaviors in their exposure to, perception of, and retention of the program, much as American viewers do. Since there are generation gap and racial tensions in the Netherlands at least analogous to those in the U.S., the Dutch socio-cultural context is especially sensitive to some of the underlying themes of this program. Again, this study demonstrates that the viewers' own culture may play a significant role in the decoding of a television program. Viewers are not completely free to impose any meaning on an imported program, but instead react to the program within certain cultural parameters.

SUMMARY

This article has attempted to survey the status of American television program material abroad in an effort to discern the impact that such programming is having on the receiving nations. While research exists to document the fact that the American television presence permeates the world market, such research is now dated and the specific effects of such a presence are unclear. While much writing has treated the issue of alleged American cultural imperialism through the mass media, particularly television, such publications have too often been speculations, or worse, ideological polemics. The types of media scholarship needed to address the question of socio-cultural impact of American television are in short supply. Yet those few field studies which have been completed would appear to cast some doubt on the assertion that American television necessarily has a strong destructive influence on other cultures.

Instead, there would appear to be a tendency among members of foreign cultures to either integrate American television messages into their existing cultural framework, or to selectively attend, perceive, and retain such messages in an effort to maintain or protect existing value structures. If the concept of context as an essential dimension of the communicative act is taken seriously, critiques of American television impact which assert a direct influence hypothesis are of doubtful accuracy since they underestimate the function of context.

Since there has been so much debate and so little research, the cultural imperialism thesis, as it pertains to U.S. popular television abroad, is ripe for many types of mass communication research. First and foremost, there is a critical need for a more precise quantification of the flow of international media products, particularly television. The landmark study of international television traffic conducted by Nordenstreng and Varis in the early 1970's is now very dated, especially in light of rapid media developments in the Third World.[59] Both scholars and policy-makers require an accurate sense of the volume and nature of media materials which cross geopolitical borders. A starting point may well be more isolated studies which monitor the foreign media content within a single nation, as has been done in Sweden very recently.[60]

Second, there is room for more experimental work of the type Tsai attempted with the Formosan children. Such research examines the central question of whether exposure to foreign television messages erodes central cultural values. Since such cultural erosion is a

major tenet of the Schiller, *et al.*, critical posture, experimental research which defines empirically the impact of exposure to foreign television is essential. Research among peoples without previous exposure to television is especially important since it examines issues not encountered in research based in a culture which has a history of television viewing experience.

A third area for relevant research centers on comparative studies which examine the different (and perhaps similar) ways in which U.S. audiences and foreign audiences decode the same television programs. As the Tate and Surlin study points out, researchers are only beginning to understand the cross-cultural dynamics of apparently popular U.S. television programs which find their way to foreign markets. At this point it is not at all clear that there is any such thing as "universal appeal" in even the most beloved of American soap operas, situation comedies, and domestic dramas. While highly rated U.S. television programs are frequently very popular aborad, it would be presumptuous to conclude, for example, that a police drama "means" the same thing in Ghana as it does in the United States.

A final area for further research, and one which Elihu Katz refers to in the conclusion of *Television Traffic: A One-way Street?*, addresses the question of whether there really are any significant differences in terms of content and structure between popular American television programs and the programs produced for domestic consumption abroad. Katz asks whether nations like Japan and Argentina which produce a large percentage of their own entertainment programming are really doing anything fundamentally different than their Hollywood counterparts. For example, the popular *telenovela* of South American origins may be examined as a hybrid form of the U.S. soap opera. Along this line it is also important to explore the degree to which domestic television formats are really continuations in the evolution of a communicative form.

Do U.S. television programs serve as functional equivalents of other communicative forms in the countries which import them? Does the importation of American television undermine cultures which are not as technically advanced as the United States? Does American entertainment programming really force an alien ideology on foreign viewers or is it selectively consumed by those viewers as cultural reinforcement? These questions and many more confront the researcher interested in moving beyond the surface of the cultural imperialism controversy.

NOTES

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[1]J.J. Servan-Schreiber, *The American Challenge*, translated by Ronald Steel (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 3.

[2]Harold Innis was one of the first scholars to explore the implications of communications domination. See his essay, "The Strategy of Culture," in *Changing Concepts of Time* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), pp. 1-20. Culture is defined here as the "public texts," or better, the "socially established structures of meaning." See Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New Yok: Basic Books, 1973), esp. pp. 3-30.

[3]Jeremy Tunstall, *The Media Are American: Anglo-American Media in the World* (London: Constable, 1977), p. 57.

[4]Herbert I. Schiller, *Communication and Cultural Domination* (White Plains, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1976), p. 9.

[5]For a counterpoint to the global village hypothesis, see James E. Grunig, ed., *Decline of the Global Village: How Specialization is Changing the Mass Media* (Bayside, N.Y.: General Hall, 1976).

[6]Eduardo Contreras, et al., *Cross-cultural Broadcasting* (Paris: UNESCO Reports and Papers on Mass Communications No. 77, 1976).

[7]Don R. Browne, "The American Image as Presented Abroad by U.S. Television," *Journalism Quarterly*, 45 (1968), 307-316.

[8]Wilson P. Dizard, *Television A World View* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1966), p. 5.

[9]Ibid., p. 9.

[10]*Communication and Cultural Domination*, p. 3.

[11]Herbert I. Schiller, *Mass Communications and American Empire* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), p. 80.

[12]Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis, *Television Traffic: A One-Way Street?* (Paris: UNESCO Reports and Papers on Mass Communications No. 70, 1974).

[13]Thomas H. Guback, *The International Film Industry: WesternEurope and America Since 1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969).

[14]Tunstall, pp. 24-63.

[15]*Television Traffic*, pp. 19-25.

[16]Tapio Varis, "Global Traffic in Television," *Journal of Communication*, 24 (Winter 1974), 102-109.

[17]*Television Traffic*, pp. 13-15.

[18]Ibid., pp. 17-27.

[19]See Robert E. Miller, "The CRTC: Guardian of the Canadian Identity," *Journal of Broadcasting*, 17 (1973), 189-199; Richard P. Nielsen and Angela B. Nielsen, "Canadian TV Content Regulation and U.S. Cultural 'Overflow'," *Journal of Broadcasting*, 20 (1976), 461-466; Myles P. Breen, "Severing the American Connection: Down Under," *Journal of Communication*, 25 (Spring 1975), 183-186.

[20]William H. Read, "Global TV Flow: Another Look," *Journal of Communication*, 26 (Summer 1976), 69-73.

[21]Ithiel de Sola Pool, "The Changing Flow of Television," *Journal of Communication*, 27 (Spring 1977), 139-149.

[22]Elihu Katz, "Can Authentic Cultures Survive New Media?" *Journal of Communication*, 27 (Spring 1977), 115.

[23]Alan Wells, *Picture-tube Imperialism? The Impact of U.S. Television on Latin America* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1972).

[24]*Communication and Cultural Domination*, esp. pp. 1-23.

[25]Tunstall, pp. 38-39.

[26]Communication and Cultural Domination, p. 3.

[27]Herbert I. Schiller, "Freedom from the 'Free Flow'," *Journal of Communication*, 24 (Winter 1974), 110-117.

[28]Herbert I. Schiller, "National Development Requires Some Social Distance," *Antioch Review*, 27 (Spring 1967), 63-75.

[29]Varis and Nordenstreng distinguish thirteen program types in *Television Traffic*, p. 9.

[30]"TV Comes to the Village," *Dissent*, 22 (Summer 1975), 290.

[31]*Television Traffic*, p. 16.

[32]Jean Cazeneuve, "Television as a Functional Alternative to Traditional Sources of Need Satisfaction," in *The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research*, ed. Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1974), pp. 213-223.

[33]Browne, pp. 308-309.

[34]Ibid.

[35]A useful though somewhat dated graphic representation of global television flow is found in Varis, "Global Traffic in Television," pp. 104-105.

[36]*Cross-cultural Broadcasting*, p. 14.

[37]Ibid., p. 40.

[38]*Mass Communications and American Empire*, p. 3.

[39]Katz, p. 113.

[40]Pool, pp. 139-144.

[41]Ibid., pp. 143-144.

[42]Browne, pp. 309-311.

[43]Don R. Browne, "Problems in International Communication," *Journal of Communication*, 17 (September 1967), 206.

[44]Luis Ramiro Beltran, "TV Etchings on the Minds of Latin Americans: Conservatism, Conformism, and Other Patterns," *International Development Review*, 19 no. 4 (1977), 36-38.

[45]Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1977), esp. pp. 85-103; Ray L. Birdwhistell, *Kinesics and Context: Essays on Body Motion Communication* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), esp. 29-39.

[46]James W. Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," *Communication*, 2 no. 1 (1975), 1-22.

[47]Charles N. Barnard, "An Oriental Mystery," *TV Guide*, January 28, 1978, pp. 2-8.

[48]"Is Ben Cartwright a Wicked Old Man?" *Atlas*, January, 1970, p. 39.

[49]Gary Granzberg, Jack Steinbring, John Hamer, "New Magic for Old: TV in Cree Culture," *Journal of Communication*, 27 (Autumn 1977), 154-158.

[50]Ibid., p. 158.

[51]R.J. Madigan and W. Jack Peterson, "Television on the Bering Strait," *Journal of Communication*, 27 (Autumn 1977), 183-187.

[52]Martin Esslin, "The Television Series as Folk Epic," in *Superculture: American Popular Culture and Europe*, ed. C.W.E. Bigsby (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1975), pp. 190-198.

[53]Cazeneuve, pp. 220-222.

[54]Michael Kuan Tsai, "Some Effects of American Television Programs on Children in Formosa," *Journal of Broadcasting*, 14 (1970), 229-238.

[55]Ibid., p. 236.

[56]Verone Sparkes, "TV Across the Canadian Border: Does it Matter?" *Journal of Communication*, 27 (Autumn 1977), 40-47.

[57]Eugene D. Tate and Stuart H. Surlin, "Agreement with Opinionated TV Characters Across Cultures," *Journalism Quarterly*, 53 (Summer 1976), 199-203.

[58]G. Cleveland Wilhoit and Harold de Bock, " 'All in the Family' in Holland," *Journal of Communication*, 26 (Autumn 1976), 69-78.

[59]Elihu Katz *et al.*, *Broadcasting in the Third World: Promise and Performance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

[60]"Intercom," *Journal of Communication*, 30 (Winter 1980), p. 8. Radio Sweden (*Sveriges Radio*) has just issued a report on foreign television programming in Sweden entitled *Foreign Fare on Swedish Television*.

SEMIOTICS OF CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION: A CASE STUDY OF A JAPANESE FILM

JERRY L. SALVAGGIO

Semioticians and other communication theorists involved in cross-cultural communication have long recognized that messages consist of semantic units unique to particular cultures. In this paper, the author has argued that despite semantic differences in specific messages an entire text, such as a film, might be interpreted similarly by different cultures. In order to demonstrate this, the author analyzed a Japanese film from two perspectives: a Japanese and a Western.

One of the most widely accepted premises of structuralism and semiotics is that the narrative text operates at multiple levels of textual meaning. For such structuralists as Claude Levi-Strauss, the meaning of a text is less on the surface level than at a deep level expressed as binary oppositions.[1] These binary oppositions represent contradictions in culture between ideals and actual behavior. For semioticians, such as Umberto Eco, the narrative text has multiple levels of meaning as opposed to a surface and deep level. Like Roland Barthes[2] before him, Eco has shown that the reader constructs a new meaning with each reading, for in the process of interpreting the codes of the text, the reader creates a new structure based on the text plus the reader's personal and cultural background.[3] The implications of an open text theory are significant since the theory suggests that an interpreter has various options to choose from when confronted with multiple codes and messages. On the other hand, the theory also implies that these options are limited to the extent that the meaning of a code or term is culture-bound. Put in another way, every text is composed of a number of units — some of which are symbolic, others merely iconic.[4] According to Eco, a unit is simply that which is understood due to cultural convention:

> From a semiotic point of view it can only be a *cultural unit*. In every culture, 'a unit' . . . is simply anything that is culturally defined and distinguished as an entity. It may be a person, place, thing, feeling, state of affairs, sense of foreboding, fantasy, hallucination, hope or idea.[5]

Given this point of view, an important question for cross-cultural communication is to what extent is the meaning of a unit in a narrative text understandable to members of other cultures? If such units as places, people and ideas which are expressed in the form of myths, legends, fairytales and films are meaningful only within the culture which produced the text, then it follows that cultures do not understand each other's texts similarly. Such a view is generally pervasive where narrative texts are concerned. Japanese film distributors, for example, refused for many years to export the films of Yasujiro Ozu on the premise that they were too vernacular to be understood by Westerners.[6]

The nature of this paper is strictly theoretical in that no empirical evidence shall be presented to substantiate the claim to be made. The position presented here is that a narrative text achieves meaning at multiple levels; both surface or story and a deeper level which might be interpreted sociologically, psychologically or any number of other ways. The meaning which is attributed to the text stems from an understanding of the signs which constitute the text. Semiotically speaking, these signs are either *iconic, indexical or* symbolic and take the form of images, dialogue, decisions of the characters, music and numerous other units present in every narrative text. With Eco, it is agreed here that the meaning of these units is culture-bound. That is to say, the meaning of a Wagnerian opera as background music to a play will be understood differently by Germans and cultures not familiar with Wagner. At the same time, it will be argued here, that despite the dissimilar ways in which the units of a text are interpreted by members of divergent cultures, a common or similar interpretation of the text as a whole is not only possible but likely. The theoretical assumptions which underpin this position will be

presented at the end of this paper. For now, a single narrative text will be interpreted from two cultural viewpoints; that of an indigenous interpreter and that of an interpreter not familiar with the culture which produced the text. As culturological interpretations, both are hypothetically projected by the author.

The methodology to be used assumes that the first interpreter is cognizant of all the icons and other cultural units which are presented in the text. The second interpretation will be from the viewpoint of one who is not familiar with the culture of the text. This interpreter will logically attend primarily to the more universal units of the text, such as facial expressions and physical action. As interpretive procedures, both might be termed semiotic in that attention will be focused on reducing the system of signs utilized in the text to a statement isomorphic with the meaning of the text.

The text selected for the present study is Kon Ichikawa's film, *The Burmese Harp*. The text was chosen primarily for the following reasons: it was nationally televised on the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) and is therefore fairly well known; it contains a large number of cultural codes signifying Eastern religious concepts and references to religious mythology; and finally, like most works of art, it deals with problems of the human condition which transcend cultural barriers.[7]

The Burmese Harp was written as a novel in 1946 by Michio Takeyama and was released as a film in 1956.[8] The setting of the film is Burma at the end of World War II. The narrative focuses on a lone Army unit and its guide, Corporal Mizushima, who counters the unit's loneliness with music from a homemade Burmese harp. When a larger group of British soldiers inform them that the war is over and they are to be interned before returning to Japan, they react peacefully, partly as a result of Mizushima singing one particular song, *Yany no Yado* (Home Sweet Home).

A more bellicose unit, however, is entrenched in a cave on a nearby mountain and refuses to surrender. At this point Mizushima is asked by his Captain to go into the mountains and convince them to surrender without further bloodshed. When the corporal fails to convince the unit that they should return to Japan rather than die, the mountain is hit by heavy artillery and only Mizushima survives. Nursed back to health by a Burmese Buddhist priest, he begins his journey to Mudon where his unit has been interned in a prisoner-of-war camp.

On the way several events take place which result in a spiritual change in Mizushima. The road to Mudon is strewn with mutilated victims of the war. Mizushima at first attempts to bury the dead, but soon realizes the futility of the task and resumes his trip. By the end of his journey, though, his demeanor has changed and with shaven head and white robe he appears to have assumed the role of a Buddhist monk. His new appearance is such a transformation that he is not recognized by the members of his unit when their paths cross on a bridge near Mudon. Except for a few similar encounters Mizushima is never reunited with his unit. Their only form of communication is via two green parrots, the faint recognition of the sound of Mizushima's harp, and a letter from Mizushima to his unit to be read on the way back to Japan. It is in this letter that Mizushima's reason for not returning to Japan is revealed. His explanation is simple and compassionate, indicating that guilt and shame demand that he stay behind to bury the dead. For Mizushima, *Hanyu no Yado* refers not only to the living, but also to the dead.

It is immediately evident to the Japanese interpreter that *The Burmese Harp* is a text which contrasts two sets of ideals — in this case, religious and ethical ideals. Mizushima as a soldier represents Shintoism while Mizushima the monk represents Buddhism. As Japan's

indigenous religion, Shintoism has always been associated with militarism and loyalty. Basically, Shintoism is an animistic religion without philosophical or ethical elements. It is almost singularly marked by a lack of guilt or conception of sin. As Paul Varley has observed, "Shinto does not hold man basically responsible for his deeds."[9] More important here is the Shintoist notion of the emperor as an *immortal*, which was a factor in the Japanese soldier's indomitable spirit and limitless loyalty. Lafcadio Hearn thus wrote in 1904, " Among no other people has loyalty ever assumed more impressive and extraordinary forms; and among no other people has obedience ever been nourished by a more abundant faith — that faith derived from the cult of the ancestors."[10] As this cult of loyalty and obedience became more multiformed and developed into an indurate hierarchy, names were invented to categorize the various forms of loyalty. An indebtedness to someone to whom loyalty was owed became known as an *on*. Thus, in *The Burmese Harp*, the unit which refused to surrender was repaying their *on* to the emperor and Japan. Allie Frazier, in his study of Japanese religions, has further argued that "The Japanese government found Shintoism to be a reliable instrument for uniting the Japanese people and inflaming their patriotic spirit."[11]

While Shintoism is the indigenous religion of Japan, Buddhism was founded by the Indian teacher, S'akyamuni Gautama (566-486 B.C.). Having started as an Indian religion, Buddhism traveled to China and other Asian countries before being imported into Japan in 552. Basic to Buddhism is the idea of *suffering* which is caused by man's desires and selfish nature. Ivan Morris provides an excellent contrast between the two religions:

> Buddhism, with its stress on the sorrows of the earthly condition, its reflection on transitory pleasures, its preoccupation with decay and death, and its offer of release by retirement from the world and a modification of the human consciousness would appear in many ways to be the very antithesis of Shintoism. . . .[12]

That Buddhism was imported and was able to survive at all in a country totally indoctrinated in the Shinto attitude was due in part to the fact that Japan in 552 recognized the superiority of China. Credit for the absorption of the new religion goes to Prince Shotoku (574-622) who, as a devout Buddhist, worked towards incorporating the new religion into art and culture. At other times when Buddhism seemed imminently in danger of extinction, others, such as Kukai, sometimes better known as Kobodaishi, attempted to have Buddhism absorbed into Shinto. Though this was successful to some extent, there has always been a clear sense in which the two religions are distinct and competitive. During the Meiji Restoration, for example, Shinto was again revitalized and Buddhism almost forgotten. In present day Japan, the two religions are harmoniously blended and the typical Japanese does not consider himself one or the other. Weddings are most often a Buddhist ceremony while funerals are Shinto. Despite this cordial intermingling of the two religions, Shintoism is still recognized for its power to inspire loyalty in the Japanese soldier.

For the Japanese interpreter, *The Burmese Harp* is clearly a text which contrasts the two religions. Mizushima essentially functions as a symbol of Japan vacillating between two ideals — loyalty to the emperor and Japan, and the Buddhist acknowledgement of the suffering which has resulted from such fanatic loyalty.

To solidify his case the Japanese interpreter notes that the background of the film's action is set in Burma, generally considered to be a symbol of Buddhism since it is one of the few countries left in the world where *only* Buddhism is practiced. That the Japanese soldiers are fighting for Japan in Burma is a primary cause of the guilt which Mizushima will exhibit. The author's choice of the name *Mizushima* likewise symbolizes the isolated

role he will play as mediator between two ideals since it is also the name of an island off the coast of Japan.

According to the hypothesis of the Japanese interpreter, Mizushima begins as a soldier but undergoes a *spiritual change* when the war is over. At the same time there is the suggestion that within Mizushima there is already a proclivity toward transcending the Shinto attitude. This is symbolized by Mizushima's role as the unit's scout (one who guides others into the unknown). One fourth the way through the film, when Mizushima changes into a monk's robe, the suggestion that he is a Buddha figure is further strengthened. Additional associations which link Mizushima with Buddhism are the similarities between Mizushima and S'akayamuni, the founder of Buddhism. Both endured a period of self-mortification followed by enlightenment and both renounce the material world for a life devoted to Buddhist stoicism.

An especially important symbol which the Japanese interpreter is not likely to overlook is Mizushima's miraculous survival on the *mountain* (he is the only one to survive). The experience on the mountain is re-emphasized later in the film when the captain, reflecting on Mizushima's errant behavior (refusal to return to his unit) asks himself, "What happened in the mountains, Mizushima?" The symbolism associated with mountains is extremely rich for the Japanese. In Japan's early history mountains were used as sites for Shinto temples but since the time of Kukai their association is closer to Buddhism.[13] Oliver Statler, referring again to Kukai, notes that it was through *sangaku shugho* (ascetic practice in the mountains) that the young boy monk Kukai attained enlightenment.[14]

Possibly the most powerful scene in the film is one which symbolizes Mizushima's ambivalence and at the same time suggests the trauma of post-war Japan. Mizushima's attachment to his unit and to Japan's Shintoist value system is reflected when he accompanies his unit in the *Home Sweet Home* song, *Hanyu no Yado*, but remains hidden behind a large sculpture of a reclining Buddha. While the unison through music indicates Mizushima's desire to be reunited with Japan, the visual separation between him and his unit is symbolic of his commitment to remain in Burma. The sculpture which Mizushima hides behind is known to most Japanese as *Nehan ma Shaka* — the Buddha who has just entered nirvana. According to legend the Buddha's death, which the statue of *Nehan ma Shaka* represents, causes everyone to cry. Similarly, this particular occasion is a sad moment and a turning point for Mizushima in view of the fact that he does not reveal himself to his comrades. That Mizushima accompanies his comrades in *Hanyu no Yado* symbolizes his desire to remain one with their ideals, while his refusal to come out from behind the Buddhist statue symbolizes his conversion. What makes the scene so poignant for the Japanese is that Mizushima's conversion and decision to remain behind is, in a sense, the death of Mizushima. Edwin O. Reischauer directs attention to the fact that the Japanese are a group-oriented people, and for one to be left behind is symbolic of death.[15] The scene is doubly symbolic in that Mizushima's conversion suggests the new attitude of post-war Japan.

Other symbols which signify the conflict between the two sets of ideals are the green parrots which are exchanged as gifts between Mizushima and his unit via an intermediary. Verbally, one parrot echoes the physical separation of Mizushima and Japan by learning and repeating the phrase, "Mizushima, come back to Japan." Visually, the parrots link Mizushima with another priest and with his new role as a Buddhist monk. The parrots thus mirror the conflict which structures the text by signifying Shinto verbally and Buddhism visually.

Final substantiation for the Japanese interpreter that the meaning of the text lies in the two sets of ideals and the conversion to one from the other is brought out in Mizushima's letter which is read by his captain to the unit on their voyage back home:

> When they were gone (English nurses) I went up and found a new granite tombstone decorated with a small but pretty wreath. The stone bore the inscription: 'Here Lie Unknown Japanese Soldiers.' I stood there for some time, bewildered. Then I heard the harp playing *'Hanyu no Yado'* near the gate of the cemetary. As if drawn by it, I started unsteadily toward the gate. I was burning with shame. How wretched I felt for having turned my back on those dead bodies heaped beside the river.[16]

Mizushima's decision to bury the dead is motivated by the knowledge that his enemies are exhibiting a compassion he and his comrades lacked.[17] His enlightenment is thus a rejection of Shintoist ideals to a higher, more universal awareness of the human condition characteristic of Buddhism.

The above interpretation focused primarily on iconic signs recognizable by members of the culture who are familiar with the tenets and symbols of Eastern religions. A Western interpretation utilizing semiotics would attribute meaning to different signs. Scholars of cross-cultural communication have long recognized that in situations where cues are especially vague or ambiguous, there is a greater tendency to organize the stimuli, or signs in this case, in ways familiar to one's own culture. As Eco has written:

> These poetic systems recognize "openness" as *the* fundamental possibility of the contemporary artist or consumer. The aesthetic theoretician, in his turn, will see a confirmation of his own intuitions in these practical manifestations: they constitute the ultimate realization of a receptive mode which can function at many different levels of intensity.[18]

Put in another way, the Western interpreter will impose onto the text whichever Western paradigm seems to fit.

While both interpretations begin with the same observational data, (the text's primary character begins as a soldier but later converts to priesthood) they very quickly diverge since the iconic signs are more specific to the Japanese interpreter. The Western interpreter, for example, may not associate the military uniform with Shintoism nor the mountains and parrots as totemi objects. For the Western interpreter, Mizushima's decision to stay in Burma is in the tradition of Dostoevsky, Kafka, Sartre and Camus. The Western hypothesis, then, shall be that *The Burmese Harp* exhibits an existential theme. Like most existential characters, Mizushima is seen as being less acculturated than other members of his group. This, in turn, leads to the alienation known to those characters in literature who through a Jungian introspection reflect on their own existence and eventually depart from the norms of society.

Though the iconic signs are beyond the ken of the Western interpreter, their imagery is not totally lost for as Patricia Sanborn has pointed out, Sartre also used religious imagery to illuminate forms of frustration.[19] One recurring image which takes on symbolic significance is that of the dead bodies which Mizushima continually encounters and later recalls in his letter. In the context of war, devastation and suffering, the imagery of the 'heaps of dead bodies' and its effect on Mizushima is reminiscent of the philosophy of the existentialist Karl Jasper. Speaking of Jasper's world view Heinemann writes, " . . . we experience a shattering of our existence in situations of absolute chance, conflict, suffering,

guilt and death. They either throw us into despair, or they wake us to an authentic choice of ourselves and of our destiny."[20] Clearly, the narrative of *The Burmese Harp* can be seen as a visual document to Jasper's world view. Mizushima's miraculous survival was an element of chance, his ambivalence between returning to Japan and remaining as a priest represents a conflict, his experience wandering through the devastated areas after recovering represents his suffering, and his decision to stay behind signifies his guilt. Thrown into such despair, Mizushima is forced into making a choice concerning his own destiny.

Other symbols which do not rely on cultural knowledge are Mizushima's decision to isolate himself from his group. The theme of isolation begins when Mizushima survives the attack on the mountain and is reenforced when it is realized that Mizushima has no dialogue from this point on in the text. Mizushima's isolation and silence parallel Martin Heidegger's thoughts on humanism. The following is taken from a letter Heidegger wrote in 1947 and very aptly describes the actions of Mizushima:

> If a man, however, is once again to find himself in the nearness of Being, he must first learn to exist in the nameless. He must recognize the seduction of the public, as well as the impotence of the private. Man must, before he speaks, let himself first be claimed again by Being at the risk of having under this claim little or almost nothing to say. Only in this way will the preciousness of its essence be returned to the word, and to man the dwelling where he can live in the truth of Being.[21]

Various units throughout the text re-enforce other aspects of the theme of isolation. Several scenes depict Mizushima begging alms and walking in processions with other priests. When these priests are referred to in the text, they are always nameless. The attempt by Mizushima's unit to find him is complicated by the fact that the Burmese only refer to him as a *priest* — refusing or unable to distinguish between Mizushima and other priests. Those occasions where Mizushima sings with but does not join his unit are reminiscent of Heidegger's warning against being seduced by the public.

One of the film's strongest signs that Mizushima is an existentialist is his decision not to return to Japan. Like Sisyphus in Camus' essay on Greek mythology, Mizushima has learned that the grief which they now suffer stems from their belief that returning to Japan will make them happy. As Camus tells the story, Sisyphus returns to Earth from the underworld to chastise his wife but finds it so much to his liking that he decides to stay. At this point Mercury is sent to retrieve him and Sisyphus is forever bound to a rock. Camus expresses the moral of the story this way: "When the images of earth cling too tightly to memory, when the call of happiness becomes too insistent, it happens that melancholy rises in a man's heart: this is the rock's victory, this is the rock itself."[22] Similarly, in *The Burmese Harp* it is the unit rather than Mizushima who is most melancholy. Japan, as a symbol of the ideal, has become the unit's rock. Through detachment Mizushima will seek a meaningful existence where the essence of Japan will not foster false hopes of happiness.

Thus far the Western interpretation has neglected to comment specifically on the religious element of the text though it is quite clear Mizushima has converted to the priesthood. Since Mizushima does not mention any particular religion or any particular aspect of priesthood, the Western interpreter is free to view Mizushima's conversion as a rebellion against the predominant ideology of the social system to which Mizushima belongs. The religious aspects of the text are thus understood as a withdrawal from society. In *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Emile Durkheim noted that society sets up symbols to venerate, thereby allowing members to identify as a group.

The Western interpreter does not fail to recognize the ubiquitous religious symbolism associated with Mizushima, but also recognizes the religious fervor exhibited in Mizushima's unit when they refer to Japan. Put in another way, the conflict between Japan's indigenous religion and its imported religion can only make itself known to those familiar with Japan's unique historical background. To all others, the text presents a dissident character who has turned away from the ethnocentricism exhibited by his comrades in favor of isolation and introspection. Seen in this way, Mizushima's rebellion fits very well into the existential paradigm. Heinemann refers to this type of existentialist as a mystical anarchist and describe him in this way:

> . . . this eschatoglogical existentialist reacts violently against any sort of dictatorial regime, be it tzarist, Bolshevist or Fascist; but he goes much further than Sartre, for he rejects any sort of binding force whatsoever, whether in Society, Civilization or Nature. His individualism becomes thereby a metaphysical nonconformism or anarchism of a very specific kind, i.e., mystical anarchism.[23]

A final existential view which describes Mizushima's actions is expressed by Kaufmann in his analysis of the philosophy of Jean Paul Sartre. "Man's situation, as Sartre sees it, is absurd and tragic, but does that rule out integrity, nobility or valor, or the utmost effort?"[24] *The Burmese Harp* depicts a tragic situation but more than this the film presents a character who reacts with valor. As Kierkegaard argued, it is especially in absurd and tragic moments that *truths* about human nature are grasped.

A reiteration of the Japanese interpretation, when compared to the major tenets of existentialism, reveals strong similarities. The Japanese interpretation noted that a conflict between Japan's two most dominant religions is symbolized by Mizushima's conversion from one to the other after much reflection and ambivalence. The interpretation focused primarily on Mizushima's growing awareness of the tragic nature of the war and the effect it has on him as an individual. The basic units of the text are Mizushima's isolation, his suffering and guilt, his meditation, and his decision to remain in Burma rather than return to the fold of his ancestry. This decision equates to a desertion from his unit, his country and his native religion, yet is treated in the text as an act of courage or a rite of passage at the worst. These units, then, can be compared to the major tenets of existentialism as noted by Alasdair MacIntyre. The key themes according to MacIntyre are: the individual and systems (Mizushima and the Army/Shinto), intentionality (Mizushima's intention to remain), being and absurdity, (Mizushima's being after the absurd suicide of the other unit), the nature and significance of choice (Mizushima's choice between returning and remaining), the role of extreme experiences (Mizushima's survival and encounter with the corpses of his fellow countrymen), and finally, the nature of communication (Mizushima never speaks to his unit because he realizes they would not understand).[25] Put in another way, the text of *The Burmese Harp* is structured around Mizushima's actions and these can be interpreted as being those of a Buddhist or an existentialist.

The notion that a text can be dissimilarly segmented and yet in the final analysis be similarly interpreted rests on a set of basic assumptions which is the actual focus of this paper. It is first postulated here that a narrative text is a model for human behavior which is unconsciously structured by the author of the text. Unlike other models of human behavior such as religion and philosophical systems, narrative texts present *fictional* worlds wherein fictional or real characters act out various parts of the model. Almost without exception a text does not present the author's own model, but merely a version of a larger societal model. In a sense, a text is a manifestation of what Victor Turner refers to as a calendrical rite[26] and embraces the collective unconscious of the whole society.

The second postulate is that the interpretation of a text is a two-fold process: significant units of the text are selected according to the interpreter's hypothesis for their symbolic value, and these symbolic units are then used to reduce the text to a statement isomorphic with the hypothesis. Since the narrative text lends itself to a multivocality of symbolic units, numerous hypotheses are possible. As an example, both of the above interpretations focused on Mizushima as a symbolic unit representing a model of behavior for modern man. The director of the film, however, has stated in an interview that he uses the situation of war to "show the limits within which a moral existence is possible."[27] It can be then, that a third interpretation might revolve around the war and the different effect it has on the two units and Mizushima. Other interpretations using psychoanalytic or Marxist paradigms would utilize yet other units of the text. According to the view held here, however, interpretations utilizing dissimilar paradigms such as Freudian, Jungian and Marxian *would not* result in similar interpretations. The reason for this is that such paradigms have predetermined theoretical notions which will determine which units of the text are important for the interpretation. A Jungian interpretation would thus focus on the various universal archetypes which are depicted in the text and from these a model of behavior would be deduced.

The final postulate on which this theory is based holds that similar paradigms are found in many cultures and when applied to in similar interpretations. Since a paradigm itself is merely a model based on human behavior, similar paradigms are likely to emerge in a variety of cultures. While this is not likely to be the case with specific psychological paradigms such as those expressed by Freud, it is quite common with social, philosophical and religious paradigms such as Buddhism and existentialism. When these paradigms are used by their respective cultures on the text of either culture, the interpretation will be similar. The synonymy of interpretations is due to the fact that the model of behavior depicted in a text is recognizable by members of other cultures which have experienced similar situations or have similar models of behavior. In the case of *The Burmese Harp*, the text deals with similar value systems which fall under different labels: Buddhism and existentialism. Cross-cultural interpretations, then, may attend to different units as symbols and may not recognize the cultural value of certain iconic signs, but this does not rule out similar interpretations. Exceptions to this would be interpretations from cultures which have not shared similar models of behavior. The text of a primitive culture, as an example, might never be interpreted by contemporary scholars in the same way as it would be interpreted by a member of that culture. Similar interpretations of texts, no matter how esoteric or symbolically structured, however, are likely to be understood in the same way by most industrialized cultures.

Finally, the two interpretations were semiotic projections of the author. But, this is not to imply that cross-cultural interpretations will only be similar when intellectual paradigms are utilized. On the contrary, it is argued here that similar interpretations are even more likely in the case of the average audience. Though the average reader or viewer of a text may not be able to articulate a specific hypothesis regarding the meaning of the text, there is a sense in which trans-cultural communication also operates on this level.

NOTES

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[1]See Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1967), and *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

[2]Roland Barthes, *S/Z* (Paris: Seuil, 1970).

[3]Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979).

[4]Three different types of signs are distinguished in semiotics. Iconic signs are those recognized by virtue of their similarity to what is signified. Indexical signs are recognized by virtue of their relationship to the signified, e.g., as smoke being a sign of fire. Symbolic signs are recognized by virtue of convention. Recently, there has been much discussion on this and it is now generally accepted that iconic signs are also recognized by virtue of convention.

[5]Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1976), p. 67.

[6]Joseph L. Anderson and Donald Richie, *The Japanese Film* (New York: Grove Press, 1959), p. 359.

[7]*The Japanese Film Series* was produced by KQED of San Francisco and was aired on PBS in 1975.

[8]An English version of Takeyama's novel was translated by Howard Hibbet, published by Charles E. Tuttle Co., Tokyo, Japan, 1966. The Film script was written by Ichikawa's wife — Notto Wada.

[9]Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture: A Short History* (New York: Praeger, 1973), p. 13.

[10]Lafcadio Hearn, *Japan: An Interpretation* (New York: Grosset and Dulap, 1904), p. 311.

[11]Allie M. Frazier, ed., *Chinese and Japanese Religions* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969).

[12]Ivan Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 107.

[13]Kukai, or Kobodaishi, was a ninth century monk who tried to promote Buddhism by declaring that the higher Shinto gods were reincarnations of various Buddhas.

[14]Oliver Statler, *The Pilgrimage to the Eighty-Eight Sacred Places of Shikoku: An Approach to Japanese Religion* (New York: Knopf, 1963), p. 5.

[15]Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan: The Story of a Nation*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 208.

[16]Takeyama, *Harp of Burma*, p. 123.

[17]In a sense, this is a turning point for Mizushima since it is the first acknowledgement on his part of the motion of shame. As noted earlier, the idea of sin and shame are not part of Shintoist thought but are more characteristic of Buddhism.

[18]Eco, *The Role of the Reader*, p. 65.

[19]Patricia F. Sanborn, *Existentialism* (New York: Pegasus, 1968), p. 138.

[20]F. H. Heinmann, *Existentialism and the Modern Predicament* (New York: Harper and Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1953), p. 60.

[21]Martin Heidegger "Letter on Humanism," reprinted in *Phenomenology and Existentialism*, Richard Zaner and Don Ihde (New York, Capricorn Books, 1973), pp. 147-181.

[22]Walter Kaufman, ed., *Existentialism from Dostoevsky to Sartre* (New York: World Publishing, 1956), p. 314.

[23]Heinemann, p. 157.

[24]Kauffman, p. 60.

[25]Alasdair MacIntyre, "Existentialism," *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (1967), p. 147.

[26]Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1969).

[27]Joan Mellen, *Voices From the Japanese Cinema* (New York, Liveright, 1975), p. 125.

THE OSAGE LITTLE-PEOPLE MYTH: A COMMUNICATION PERSPECTIVE

DIANA L. WONDERGEM, WILLIAM R. KENNAN and L. BROOKS HILL

After positing an integral relationship between myth-telling and intercultural communication, this study investigated myth-telling behaviors as a perspective regarding the interaction of culture and communication. Primarily a case study of one tribe and one myth, this project relied on personal interviews to secure indexical, reflexive, and intentional data regarding the sources, situational adaptation, and diffusion patterns of the Little-People myth amongst the Osage Indians. Two areas of communication implications surfaced: First, intercultural interaction is eroding the vitality and viability of the Little-People myth as cultural knowledge. Second, intra-tribal communication reflects the impact of intercultural interaction through the breakdown of traditional communication networks for myth diffusion. Patterns and problems of cultural evolution suggested by these two areas of communication implications are discussed.

Essential features of a culture are deeply rooted in the dynamic patterns of oral communication maintained by that culture.[1] Determination of those patterns may illuminate the reciprocal relation between a culture and the communication behavior of its members. Insofar as myths tend to originate in the orally transmitted folklore, to diffuse orally, and to reflect the purveyor's adaptation to social situations, they offer a rich source of information for the student of communication.[2] Operating from this perspective, this paper examines the Little-People myth of the Osage Indians within a communication framework.[3] Three general sections report the study: The first provides a brief overview of the relationship between myth-telling and intercultural communication. The second section elaborates the methodology chosen for the study. The third section indicates and discusses the results.

MYTH AND COMMUNICATION

As commonly employed, the term myth refers to "traditional stories, of unknown authorship, ostensibly with a historical basis, but serving usually to explain some phenomenon of nature, the origin of man, or the custom, institutions, religious rites, etc. of a people."[4] Although unsophisticated, this definition can serve as a useful touchstone. Francis Lee Utley summarized twenty-one definitions of folklore in an attempt to provide a composite definition reflective of a variety of theoretic concerns. That effort resulted in a functional definition of folklore equally applicable to myth; namely, "the oral and communal transmission of tradition and survivals of tradition."[5] Thus, myth-making and/or myth-telling is a social, communicative process which utilizes narrative storylines, or elliptical references to the stories, to establish and perpetuate acceptable modes of social conduct and a sense of community, essential components of culture.[6]

To speak of myths as a communication process accents their dynamic nature; that is, they are expected to exhibit fluid values and interrelations. Although generic similarities among them may surface, the assumption of process further urges that each telling of a myth be considered for its uniqueness, as well as recurrent patterns. Alfred North Whitehead characterizes this perspective: "The how an actual entity becomes constitutes what the actual entity is; so that the two descriptions of an actual entity are not independent. Its 'being' is constituted by its 'becoming.' "[7] To view myth-telling as a static cultural product denies this fundamental communication assumption. Myth as communication has

meaning and function primarily in its conceptualization as a social process, rather than as a cultural artifact.

Walter Ong's conception of "world view" helps clarify the relation between communication and myth-telling. To Ong, "world view" is a negotiated set of rules and body of information which one generates through communicative acts among cultural members.[8] These acts are dynamic and fleeting, not to appear except in elliptical, residual form as artifact. Analysis of these acts must therefore recognize, in addition to the manifest content of the myth, at least three major communication dimensions which are often neglected or viewed as insignificant by other approaches to the study of myths: indexicality, reflexivity, and intentionality.

The first dimension, indexicality, refers to the notion that any speech act occurs within a specific situation containing events, objects, and rules which are dynamic rather than static. Without knowledge of the situation of an utterance and the ways participant interaction creates the situation, the meaning becomes non-indexical or partially meaningless, because the observer lacks knowledge of the rules governing the circumstances and performance of the utterance.[9] Closely related to indexicality, reflexivity deals with the integral interaction by a member with the context of the utterance and refers specifically to an individual's account of that interaction. In other words, reflexivity is a partial statement of world view by an individual within a specifiable cultural context.[10] Finally, communicative acts, including mythmaking, are responses to situations and reflect an awareness of them. That is to say, whenever a myth is uttered, its indexicality and reflexivity reveal the member's intentionality as the act relates that individual to other members.[11] From the interactional processes an idea of the necessary, if not sufficient, aspects of intentionality for satisfactory social behavior emerge.[12]

Thus, indexicality, reflexivity, and intentionality are prominent characteristics of the communication process. Viewing myth as a communication phenomenon accents these broad categories and may aid in the reconceptualization of myth and assist our research of intercultural communication. Although these are not the only applicable communication variables, they are especially salient in determining the reciprocal relation of culture and communication. To analyze these categories is difficult, and that may explain why most approaches tend to study product more than process and neglect these interactional aspects.

METHODOLOGY

Working with Native Americans magnifies the difficulties associated with field research, because the subjects often perceive themselves as abused by researchers and governmental agencies.[13] In his assessment of research on Native Americans, Joseph Trimble aptly noted, "Some respondents take the position that exploitation deserves exploitation; that is, if researchers use me then I will use them to my advantage."[14] During the course of our research, we were sensitive to the potential problems. On some occasions our interviewer was tested and probed by subjects who sought to determine how interested and knowledgeable she was about the topic. Some of the subjects for this study were skilled in dealing with researchers or had heard rumors sufficient to make them cautious and reticent.

The greatest difficulty, however, was simply securing willing subjects. Many older members of the tribe perceived themselves as no longer physically able to respond. They suggested younger relatives as possible respondents. However, younger tribal members

were particularly suspicious of the motives of the researchers and the use of the final products. Some tribal members presented special resistance; because of their concern for the protection of tribal knowledge, they refused participation and urged others to decline. Finally, an educational survey conducted recently as part of a cultural retention program had polarized tribal members against any further research.[15] This made interviews difficult to arrange and tape recordings sometimes impossible. The difficulties imposed by the situation, however, did serve to sensitize the authors to the Native American perspective and further highlighted the need for careful validation of the results.

No easy or completely adequate solutions to these problems are available. The reluctance of Osage tribal members to participate is partially a product of years of irresponsibility on the part of self-serving people. Until researchers approach their studies with more concern for the subject populations, elimination of these obstacles is unlikely.[16] Our approach was designed to minimize these difficulties and to provide ample and continuing opportunity for validation.

The research design of this study is primarily a case study employing survey techniques for data collection. To insure the acquisition of reliable information, we conducted our data collection in two interrelated stages. The first stage consisted of two parts with the primary differences deriving from more specific focus on one myth in the second part. For Stage One we initially interviewed eight subjects to ascertain currently used myths and to determine the kinds of cultural knowledge contained in the myths and their social application by tribal members. In the second part of Stage One we focused more specifically with ten additional subjects on the Little People, the most widely known and agreed upon myth ascertained.

Stage One was accomplished through personal interviews. To minimize resistance to our study, Diana L. Wondergem, an Osage tribal member and coauthor of the study, conducted the interviews.[17] These interviews sought to collect as many versions of the myth as possible and to gather explanations of the meaning, sources, channels, significance, etc. of the myths, especially the Little-People myth. Whenever possible, the interviews were tape-recorded. By design, the initial interviews were loosely structured so that the subjects could express the reflexive, indexical, and intentional nature of the event, rather than relying on any a priori set of categories that we might impose. The second set of interviews for Stage One increased the level of specificity and sought, in addition to our general concerns, refinement of a questionnaire for Stage Two.

Stage Two was designed to organize the findings of Stage One and to validate those results through a more refined questionnaire. The focus of the second stage centered on the patterning of communication which serves to establish, maintain, and diffuse the Little-People myth within the tribe. Data for this stage were gathered by the same interviewer of Stage One. The format involved more carefully structured personal interviews. Despite the structure provided by the questionnaire, the subjects were encouraged to elaborate and provide additional information where they desired. The final portion of the interview sought further validation of the content of the Little-People myth by asking respondents to consider a version provided and to modify it wherever they thought it incorrect or incomplete. Because some people do not believe such information should be written, the interviewer initially determined a person's feelings about this matter, and, as needed, relied on an oral or written version.

The subjects for both stages were Osage tribal members. Most of them lived in or around Pawhuska, Oklahoma (Osage County) where the largest concentration of full-bloods reside. For Stage One we selected subjects on the basis of accessibility. This loose determinant of our sample was necessitated by the resistance we encountered and was justifiable in terms of the exploratory nature of this stage.[18] For Stage Two we selected subjects based on a generational distinction: less than 21, 21-45, and 45 and over. This sample also sought a balance between males and females, and full-bloods and lower-blood quantums. For the entire study thirty subjects were interviewed; eighteen in Stage One and twelve in Stage Two.

RESULTS

Stage One

The first stage of the data gathering aspect of this study focused on the determination of currently prominent Osage myths and tribal member attitudes regarding the social utility of these myths.[19] The most widely known myth was that of the Little People. Because of its popularity and consistency of the details about the story, we chose to focus the remainder of our study on that myth. This subsection first provides the basic version of the story which we were able to elicit from the interviews and then reports the various observations regarding their social utility. All respondents told essentially the same myth. The story line remained consistent across accounts despite the fact that other similar Osage myths did not.

> The basic myth of the Little People is as follows: In the early days of the Osage tribe disease was widespread. This was explained as We-lu-schkas, or Little-Mystery People who came into the stomachs, limbs, and heads of the Osage people and could cause death. The Mi-ah-luschkas are the Little People in human form. They dress in the clothing of the Osage tribe and appear in the evening. They are wicked and play tricks on the people. They are known to cause slow mysterious death. The Little People are more apt to bother those who are lame and will take one's mind or cause them to have serious ailments. If one sees them and speaks to them, bad effects will follow. If one sees them, but does not speak to them, they need only pray to avoid bad effects. One can speak to them, as long as they do not see them, and nothing will happen.[20]

The veracity of the myth was checked by asking respondents to either tell the myth or to respond to an orally presented version the interviewer provided. Most individuals were willing to make additions or extensions to the version provided, but these observations were usually illustrations which did not alter the story line. The prevalent awareness and agreement suggest that the Little-People myth and its application stand as one of the few remaining pieces of traditional knowledge widely diffused among Osages. The information offered as additions to the story centered around home remedies which act as protection from tricks played by Mi-ah-luschkas. Respondents also referred to other myths held by the tribe and how these related to the Little People.[21] However, few individuals were able to corroborate these additional stories or explanations.

Because of the exploratory nature of Stage One, results were used to indicate areas of concern for further investigation, rather than as a basis for final evaluation. Consequently, results are difficult to tabulate. However, some important trends did emerge regarding the social applicability of the myths.

First, Stage One suggested some general ways in which aspects of their world view is known by the tribe. Through personal accounting of their relations to the myth, subjects indicated the basic outline of the tribal communication networks which transmitted the myth and some of the techniques whereby that kind of knowledge is diffused among all members of the tribe. Stage One also served to indicate the current status of the myth. Some respondents indicated that the myth still stands in central relation to all explanations of everyday events, while others assigned less respect to the myth.

Second, Stage One suggested the impact that intercultural relations have had on the vitality and the viability of the Little People. Many tribal members took a defensive stance as a means of preventing outsiders from gathering such knowledge, while other respondents tended to devalue the Little People.[22] The basis for such rejections was not reflected in explicit statements of disbelief, but rather as an insistence on their part that such traditional behaviors as the closing of drapes at dusk for protection against the Little People reflected the fears of family members rather than their own personal beliefs.

Stage Two

The first stage of the research primarily served to lay groundwork for Stage Two. Consequently, the results of Stage Two are reported in greater detail and extend the trends suggested in the preceding interviews. The questionnaire used in Stage Two was divided into three categories: (1) the communicative sources of the Little People within the Osage tribe; (2) the context or situations in which individuals are exposed to the myth; and (3) the role of individual tribal members in the diffusion of the myth.[23] The questions applicable to each category and the results are presented below.

Communicative sources. — Four questions were used to elicit the subject's personal accounting of the source of the myth. The questions used to direct that aspect of the interview were: (1) Do you know or have you heard of the Little People? (2) From whom did you first hear about them? (3) From what other sources have you heard about them? (4) How old were you when you first heard about them?

Of the elder subjects (aged 45 and older), all had heard of the Little People, and they did not hesitate to discuss them with the interviewer. Tribal elders were warm and seemed pleased that such myths should come to light. This attitude stood in contrast to the younger generations. The second generation (aged 21-45) was not as willing to discuss the Little People. They revealed their hesitancy through such remarks as "I don't like to discuss them" or "My mother knows more." Thus, the level of information held by the second generation was difficult to ascertain; none, however, denied having heard of them. The third generation (aged less than 21) was the least responsive group; of those interviewed about one-half had heard of the Little People, and the others did not have any knowledge about them. One can only speculate whether the older two generations might have responded differently when they were younger; in fact, only longitudinal studies can satisfactorily address such concerns. The data gathered did indicate, however, the younger the subject the greater the acculturation to the overculture, and the greater the acculturation the lesser the viability assessment of the Little-People myth.

The generations differed even more regarding the sources from whom they had originally heard about the Little People. Osage elders had been taught about the Little People from prominent clan members or from their parents. This traditional means of diffusion centered around a representative from each clan who was sent to learn from the

"knowledgeable ones." Clan representatives returned and taught the children all that they had learned from the "knowledgeable ones." The second generation subjects were not taught by their fathers or other clan leaders; seventy-five percent heard of them from a more distant relative or "just people talking." The third generation primarily learned of the Little People through general conversation; as a later question indicated, however, half of these subjects did identify their grandmothers among the persons whom they had heard mention the Little People.

All three generations agreed on answers for the remaining questions about their perceptions of the story's origins for them. All subjects indicated that they had heard of the Little People from other friends and relatives. The references usually occurred in general conversation among Osages. One repeated reference reports a man who wandered out of town. When he returned he spoke of becoming entangled in barbed wire and being rescued by the Little People. Because of his exposure, tribe members assumed that "the Little People had taken his mind."

The last question focused on the age of the subject when they had heard of the myth. For all three generations the ages identified ranged from six to twelve years. Tribal elders typically reported hearing the myth at an earlier age (around six years), while second and third generations indicated hearing about the Little People at nine or older. Subjects from these later generations did not remember being "taught" about them. Instead, younger Osages generally heard about the Little People in non-traditional situations relying on chance exposure rather than on traditional networks.

Context. — The second portion of the questionnaire used in Stage Two addressed the context in which the subjects had heard or hear about the Little People. The specific questions were: (5) What is the usual occasion for telling about the Little People? and (6) In what setting did you hear about them?

Tribal elders reported that the usual occasion for telling about the Little People occurred after seeing them. They had seen the Little People in their camps, the grocery store, on the roadside, while out camping, and in their yards. Three particular examples are revealing not only about the context, but the social role of the myth as explanation. One older man spoke of being a small child when his father took him outside town to a small valley. They looked out and saw many burning campfires and some movement. It was dark and hard to see, so they walked closer and discovered that it was a clan of Little People cooking their dinner. The father and son left, in order to avoid any harmful effects associated with exposure to the Little People. One older woman spoke of seeing them across the field from where her father was drying corn. She and her father observed the Little People setting up racks to dry corn, and they decided to bring in their own corn to keep the Little People from ruining it. Another elder reported this story: He was in the grocery store where a man was buying liquor; the man's wife did not like him buying the liquor; whereupon, the husband pointed to a Little Man standing next to him and said it was the Little People who were making him buy it.

In the second generation, seventy-five percent said the occasion was during the explanation of some event, but they usually did not want to talk about them. However, one subject in the second generation did discuss a sighting: He said he saw the Little People standing on the roadside as he was going into town to buy a prescription for a sick friend; this was appropriate because the Little People are known for appearing before those who

are ill. Other subjects in the second generation said they had heard in their homes about the Little People; more specifically, their mothers explained actions through references to the Little People. The third generation had heard of the Little People in the home from tribal elders, especially the grandmother, or as a joke while out camping.

Diffusion pattern. — The final portion of the questionnaire addressed the subject's role in the diffusion of the Little-People myth. The questions inquired: (7) Do you tell anyone about the Little People? (8) If so, whom do you tell? (9) Do many people generally tell about the Little People? (10) If not, why?

Tribal elders agreed that they would tell anyone who exhibited an interest about the Little People. All indicated that they had told their children about them or had made a general reference to them around the home when closing the drapes before dark, eating before dark, etc. The elders talked to their children about the Little People, but not in an instructional manner. All of the elders said they were now telling their grandchildren about them. One woman emphasized that her own children were not interested in hearing about the Little People. She said, "My son isn't interested. And if I told him he would tell the wrong people and think it was funny. This is a very serious topic." She did indicate, however, that she was attempting to make the Little People known to her grandchildren. The second generation indicated that they would not talk about the Little People to anyone because they do not know much about them, they do not want people to know they believe in such things, and they do not believe others are interested and appreciative. The third generation did not know enough about the Little People to talk about them. Two respondents suggested that their grandmothers would be more reliable sources than they.

The final two questions were both answered only by Osage elders. They agreed that young generations do not talk about the Little People, because they fear people will think them to be crazy. One respondent said, "People don't want to act like they don't know something about the Osage when they are Osage. So, they say it's something that should be kept in and not talked about. That is just because they don't really know anything." The two younger generations partially confirmed the elders' position, noting that the only people who talk about the Little People in a serious manner are the elders.

Table 1 synthesizes the results of the questionnaire of Stage Two and applicable data from the second part of Stage One according to the three major categories of questions used in Stage Two. Perhaps because of the small sample size, correlation of the answers to blood quantum of the subjects revealed no major differences. Table 2 depicts an unanticipated maternal pattern of myth diffusion which began to surface and should form part of subsequent research.

A final means of data gathering used in Stage Two was an exercise requesting corrections and/or additions of a version of the myth we provided. No subject offered alterations, but tended to use the version as a catalyst to speak further on the topic, especially, as in Stage One, to illustrate or comment on its application. Unwillingness or inability to emend the account may accent the fundamental orality and acceptable adaptability of such an explanation of phenomena. Thus this aspect of the methodology was directly nonproductive, but suggestive.

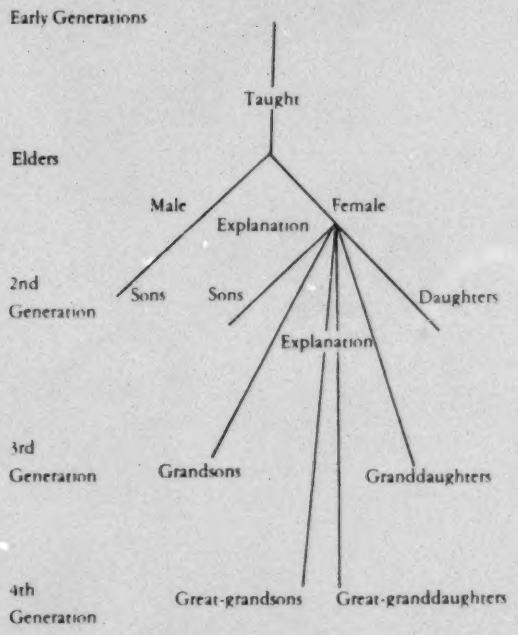
TABLE 1

CATEGORICAL SYNTHESIS OF ANSWERS FROM QUESTIONNAIRES FOR STAGES ONE AND TWO

Generation of Subjects	Personal Origins of Little-People Myth		Context	Role in Diffusion
	Have you heard of the Little People?	Source of Myth		
Elders	100%	Primarily taught by the Elders and by Parents	Clan meetings and actual observation	Tell sons, daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren
2nd Generation	100%	Primarily heard from maternal relatives	In the home	Tell only in a joking manner to friends
3rd Generation	Approximately 50%	Primarily heard from other people and maternal relatives	In the Elder's home or as a joke while out camping	Tell to no one

TABLE 2

DIFFUSION PATTERN OF LITTLE-PEOPLE MYTH



IMPLICATIONS

Examination of the Little-People myth provided a good opportunity to consider some of the cultural retention problems of the Osage people. On a small scale this research indicated the status and viability of a subculture of Native Americans. Accordingly, this section discusses several suggested extensions and implications which surfaced during the study. These ideas deserve further research to determine their validity, particularly in relation to policy formulation by and for the Osage and other Native American tribes.

Cultural evolution is a necessary result of group efforts to accommodate within their varied situations. Although conceptions of change vary widely and evolution may occur in various directions at various rates, intercultural interaction often accelerates changes or reactions against change in at least one of the cultures involved. The twentieth century has involved constant and demanding change for Native Americans and a widely varied set of reactions to these impositions. Central to these changes is the shift from an autonomous tribal lifestyle to one of subordination to external federal authority, which, in turn, has vacillated in its orientation from a ward relationship with an assimilationist stance to an independence position, or to some variation of these prospects.[24] The requirements of often unwanted change, plus the confusing variation of government policy, have produced an ongoing conflict between the tribal culture and the overculture which is manifested in a paradoxical perspective on "Indianness" with profound implications for the maintenance of their culture and communication with the overculture.

Whereas the traditional requirements for cultural membership primarily involved personal affiliation and allegiance, Federal authority has established another set of criteria for determining tribal membership.[25] These specific impositions introduced confusion for the Osage tribe and serious internal conflict along blood lines; these problems have, in turn, confounded efforts to maintain a sense of group identity using the rules and guidelines imposed by an overculture, rather than according to traditional means of reckoning.[26] Thus what it means to be an Osage is difficult to specify. As a predictable outgrowth, traditional knowledge, such as myths, is changing and reflects the more general culture problems involved. One example deriving from this study is a generation of teenagers for whom the attitudes and beliefs of the overculture have become more relevant than traditional Osage knowledge, but for whom cultural pluralism and retention programs are creating a sense of guilt about the ignorance of past traditions.[27]

Individual Osage interpretations of the Little-People myth partially reveal the status of their traditional world view. Although many Osages are determined to preserve what remains of the traditional culture, more recent generations are aware of the myth but tend to attribute little functional relevance to it. The data indicate a renewed effort on the part of the older tribal members to transmit this knowledge to the youngest members of the tribe. Yet, an entire generation (under 21) is emerging which has little facility with the Osage language, whose parents expressed little knowledge of it themselves, and for whom the values and potential rewards of the overculture are more attractive than those of tribal life.

What appears to be occurring, at least with more recent generations, is a kind of cultural leveling. More individuals claim tribal membership but have little knowledge of or interest in Osage traditions. For younger tribal members, acceptance of the overculture is easier than to fight against it. Of course, this kind of intercultural influence has been enhanced by a long history of Federal intervention in educational institutions. Federal policy, whether overtly expressed or not, has employed compulsory assimilation to ac-

culturate Indian children, accenting Anglo norms and values, instead of the allegedly "primitive" traditional knowledge, and forbidding the use of tribal language in the educational setting. Thus, it seems that intercultural interaction is reducing the myth of the Little People to the status of an interesting but unbelievable artifact. On the other hand, programs of cultural retention and emphases on cultural pluralism are now making it more fashionable to be Indian; these emphases are often creating further confusion and a revival of traditional artifacts without functional knowledge of them.[28]

Among Osages in their late twenties, thirties, and well into their forties, a defensive reticence has developed concerning the Little People. The data indicate that the latter individuals have more general knowledge of the myth than do their children, probably because in their childhood the traditional means of cultural communication had not yet broken down, but exhibit a reluctance to admit knowledge of them and to recount the myth. Several individuals in these generations implicitly indicated that their Indianness is a detriment to their ability to function in a predominantly white culture. In terms of interpersonal communication, Osages fear the risks required for the disclosure of such cultural information. The risks include ridicule by non-Indian co-workers and a lingering fear induced by the Federal system of education concerning the viability of such "primitive" knowledge.

Even though the interviewer was Osage, respondents expressed a reluctance to tell the myth. Most likely, they feared that a "white agency" was behind the research and that the knowledge would somehow be used to their detriment. Few of the respondents were willing to assign the myth any credibility at all with regard to its usefulness as a means of explaining everyday events. In effect, interaction with the overculture has restricted the use and diffusion of the Little-People myth. In a similar vein some Osages believe, and perhaps rightly, that the attitude of overculture members has been one of exploitation. They argue that exposure of tribal knowledge renders it open to ridicule and thus makes it less believable by Osages. Very simply they believe that exposure of such traditional knowledge destroys it as a part of Osage world view. This reluctance, we suspect, is partially explainable as a reaction to personal frustrations and intra-tribal conflict stemming from the inability to maintain their culture in the face of overcultural suppression. This leads to a seriously debilitating cycle of distrust, not only of the overculture but of one's fellow tribal members as well — often an "I'm-more-Indian-than-thou" sort of intra-tribal confrontation.

In general, the interface between the overculture and Osage tribal members, and consequent social change, has eroded the status of tribal knowledge and a willingness to share that knowledge with non-Osages. The youngest members of the tribe have the least extensive knowledge of the Little People and seem to attach the least credence to it. The results indicate that the middle generation has the general knowledge, but a reluctance to communicate that knowledge. The oldest members of the tribe remain willing to tell the myth, because part of their traditional role was to act as transmitters of Osage myths, because they are probably less concerned with assimilation, and because they employ the Little People as a viable explanation of everyday events.

Diffusion of the Little-People myth remains primarily oral. Despite tribal efforts to record and transmit their heritage more formally, most individuals still receive their information initially and most frequently through an oral medium. The family, though declining in this role, remains as the primary vehicle whereby such stories are diffused.

Within the family the grandmother for the most recent generations is the primary communicator of such knowledge. Although most respondents had heard the Little-People myth from other sources, they indicated that their initial exposure was within the family environment and from the grandmother. This increased role of the grandmother indicates compensatory alteration of traditional diffusion patterns; that is to say, when generations reduced their dependence on traditional patterns, the grandmothers began to fill the leadership vacuum and less formally diffuse the traditional knowledge.

To curb the trends of cultural change, Osage leaders have made a determined effort to preserve knowledge of their cultural heritage and to offer alternative situations for diffusion of this information. The effort has centered around programs to preserve oral history and traditional dance. Older tribal members are assisting with such programs, and they seem to be making an effort to reestablish traditional communication networks by focusing on the youngest tribal members. Such efforts are reestablishing a sense of community, but unless placed realistically into a perspective of their cultural evolution can lead to serious problems for younger people.[29]

Discussions of Native American culture often assume that Indians still live traditional lives within a culture clearly distinct from that of the overculture. While many traditional activities survive and tribal members of all ages participate in them, traditional knowledge no longer holds the status and role of earlier times. Interaction on an intercultural basis has produced a cultural leveling from which Osage knowledge will never recover. Traditional knowledge is less relevant and traditional networks of communication are losing their impact. The result is a culture logic or world view, parts of which are a logic and viewpoint in name only. What is often substituted are the overcultural norms, values, and myths. What is potentially dangerous is to ignore these realities and become lost in the symbolic trappings of another way of life not sufficiently complete or understood to be viable.

CONCLUSION

This paper presumed that a complete analysis of a culture's myths requires a personal account by the cultural members of the indexical, reflexive, and intentional aspects of myth telling. These aspects entail several communication phenomena which reveal the interaction of culture and communication. From this perspective, the study identified two general areas of communication implications. First, intercultural interaction is eroding the vitality and viability of the Little-People myth as cultural knowledge. Second, intra-tribal communication reflects the impact of intercultural interaction through the breakdown of traditional communication networks for myth diffusion. Both of these implications reveal cultural evolution of the Osages and some of the potential problems they will encounter in attempts to sustain and adapt their traditional ways of life.

Three issues raised by the results of this study indicate potential areas for future research. First, the results of this study point to the existence of traditional communication networks for myth diffusion. Further investigation might more clearly reveal the dynamics of that system and assess its impact on communication in other contexts. Second, the data point to a reticence on the part of Osage people concerning the Little People. Research might explain the degree to which their communication reticence is a learned response to overculture demands rather than a culturally based trait.[30] Finally, the results of this study suggested decreasing personal evaluations of the viability of the Little People as an explanation of everyday events. Additional research in this area could clarify the contemporary status of Osage traditions as they collectively distinguish the Osage sub-culture of Native

Americans. In all of these three areas communication issues and concerns are prominent, urging further research by students of this discipline.

NOTES

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[1]This notion is given full expression by Walter Ong in three primary works, "World as View and World as Event," *Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples*, ed. by Michael H. Prosser (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), pp. 27-44; *The Presence of the Word* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); and *The Barbarian Within* (New York: Macmillan, 1962).

[2]Dan Ben Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," *Journal of American Folklore*, 84 (Oct.-Dec., 1971), 3-15.

[3]William R. Kennan and L. Brooks Hill, "Kiowa Forty-Nine Singing: A Communication Perspective." A paper presented at the Speech Communication Association Summer Conference on Intercultural Communication, Tampa, Florida, July 20, 1978.

[4]*Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (New York, 1953).

[5]Francis Lee Utley, "Folk Literature: An Operational Definition," *Journal of American Folklore*, 74 (1961), 193-206. Utley's article is based on the twenty-one definitions of folklore found in Maria Leach, *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend* (New York, 1949). Utley's effort covers most of the significant positions prior to 1961 and demonstrates commonalities among theorists and researchers without losing sight of basic differences.

[6]Alan Dundes, "Folk Ideas as Units of World View," *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, ed. by Amerigo Parretes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975), pp. 93-103. Also see William R. Kennan and L. Brooks Hill, "Mythmaking as Social Process: Directions for Myth Analysis and Cross Cultural Communication Research," *Intercultural Theory and Practice: Perspectives on Education, Training, and Research*, ed. by Wm. G. Davey (Washington, D.C.: SIETAR, Georgetown University, 1979), pp. 44-67.

[7]Alfred North Whitehead, *Process and Reality* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), pp. 34-35.

[8]Walter Ong, "World as View and World as Event."

[9]See P. F. Strawson, "Identifying Reference and Truth Values," *Theoria*, 30 (1964), 97. For a more complete discussion of indexicality, reflexivity, and intentionality as sets of communication variables, see Kennan and Hill, "Mythmaking . . . ."

[10]See Paul Filmer, "On Harold Garfinkle's Ethnomethodology," *New Directions in Sociological Theory*, ed. by Paul Filmer, Michael Phillipson, David Silverman, and David Walsh (Cambridge: The M. I. T. Press, 1972), p. 215.

[11]See Leonard C. Hawes, "Conversation as Sociality." A paper presented at the Speech Communication Association Convent[illegible], Washington, D.C., December 4, 1977, p. 2.

[12]For example, see D. Lawrence Wieder, *Language and Social Reality* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974) and Harold Garfinkle, *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (Englewood

Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1967).

[13]Several authors have addressed this issue recently. At the tribal level the Zuni and Hopi have established tribal committees to serve a gatekeeping function for potential research. For a general discussion of these issues see *Journal of Social Issues*, 33 (1977).

[14]Joseph Trimble, "The Sojourner in the American Indian Community: Methodological Issues and Concerns," *Journal of Social Issues*, 33 (1977), 160.

[15]This polarization stemmed from what some people believed was premature publication of results.

[16]See Vern L. Bengston, et al., "Relating Academic Research to Community Concerns: A Case Study in Collaborative Effort," *Journal of Social Issues*, 33, (1977), 75-91.

[17]Only through the assistance and cooperation of Diana Wondergem's family and their friends was the study possible.

[18]See note 17. Mrs. Wondergem's intra-tribal connections gradually enabled her to secure more willing subjects.

[19]John Joseph Matthews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961) and *Wah 'Kon-Tah: The Osage and the White Man's Road* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932).

[20]Matthews, *The Osages*, pp. 16, 288, 311, 569, 573, 582, 700.

[21]Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Osage Traditions," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), pp. 372-97.

[22]Cf. Philip Lujan and David H. Dobkins, "Communication Reticence: Native Americans in the College Classroom," A paper presented at the Speech Communication Association Convention, Minneapolis, Minnesota, November 5, 1978.

[23]Cf. Dell Hymes, "Toward Ethnographies of Communication," *American Anthropologist*, 66 (No. 1, 1974), 1-182.

[24]L. Brooks Hill and Philip Lujan, "Rhetoric of Self-Identity: The Case of the Mississippi Choctaw," A paper presented to the Fifth Annual Conference on Rhetoric of the Contemporary South, New Orleans, Louisiana, June 30, 1978, pp. 12-18.

[25]Ibid., pp. 15-16, 22.

[26]Ibid, pp. 22-23. Also see Philip Lujan, "Communication Implications of the 'Martinez' Case for the Santa Clara Pueblo," A paper presented at the Speech Communication Association Conference on Intercultural Communication, Tampa, Florida, July 20, 1978.

[27]Hill and Lujan, "Rhetoric of Self-Identity." See also L. Brooks Hill and Philip Lujan, "Cultural Pluralism: Implications from the Native Americans of North America," A paper presented at the SIETAR Conference, Mexico City, March 8, 1979.

[28]Hill and Lujan, "Cultural Pluralism. . .," pp. 7-11.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Cf. Lujan and Dobkins, "Communication Reticence. . . ."

ATTRACTION AND COMMUNICATION STYLE AS DETERMINANTS OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS: PERCEPTUAL COMPARISONS BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES

LARRY D. MILLER

This study explores attraction and social interaction patterns at the perceptual level. Eighty male and female graduate students who are either black or white completed a two-part measure of attraction (physical and task) and a three-part measure of communicator style (dominance, argumentativeness, and dramatic components). After completing the items with regard to self, each participant rated four target relationships: his/her best male friend, best female friend, least desired male acquaintance, and least desired female acquaintance. Race related differences between perceptions of best friends and least desired acquaintances of both sexes are explored. Additionally, the perceptual-cognitive structures among the attraction and communicator style variables are compared for blacks and whites for self and for all four target relationships.

The belief that cultural groups frequently differ in behavior due to fundamental differences in the ways in which social stimuli are perceived and interpreted is both popular and supportable. Several years ago, for example, Ogawa and Rich explored the communication expectations whites hold for blacks and those that blacks hold for whites.[1] Blacks were viewed as argumentative, emotional, aggressive, and straightforward by whites. Whites were viewed as evasive, critical, conservative, boastful, and aggressive by blacks. Rich contends that the mutual set of expectations are sufficiently negative that "... with the influence of selective perception reinforcing these negative views, productive interracial communication is rendered difficult, if not impossible, at times."[2] An extension of the implicit perceptual similarity/dissimilarity hypothesis suggested by Rich intimates that as differences between cultural groups decrease, i.e., as groups become more integrated, more evenly balanced along educational, economic, and social lines, differences for effective communication ought to be enhanced. There is evidence to suggest that different cultural groups with similar experiences share similar perceptual sets. Bartee, for example, reported no significant differences between the perceptions of black and white *college* students.[3] Recently, however, Jones has reported that despite economic, educational, and presumed social equivalence, important differences in personality and communication behaviors persist across racial lines for black and white Americans.[4]

Jones' finding is provocative for two reasons. First, it implies that both personal qualities and related communication tendencies are reasonably stable within groups and capable of distinguishing one group from another. Second, Jones' conclusion suggests that as the economic and educational gap between blacks and whites decrease, the prospect for increased similarity of perception of social stimuli is not encouraging. The potential impact of this prospect for communication researchers is substantial because it is ostensibly through face-to-face communication that cross-racial contact is initiated and sustained. As larger social and contextual influences facilitate increased cross-racial contact, particularly of the face-to-face variety, the pressure upon interpersonal communication to insure mutual understanding and social harmony increases; yet without greater insight into the perceptual and behavioral interpretations and preferences characteristic of different groups, the mechanisms serving to promote social equivalence may produce the opposite effect.

Two important findings appear with impressive regularity in communication and

psychological literature. First, how similar and attractive a person is considered to be has a lot to do with how approachable he or she is perceived to be for communicative purposes. Second, how one communicates influences attractiveness. Attraction research, as well as intuition, strongly suggests that the more attracted and similar two people are, the more they tend to communicate with one another. Correspondingly, communication per se may serve to enhance attractiveness in important respects. Erickson, et al. recently re-affirmed that "speech style" is significantly related to perceived attractiveness as are a speaker's sex, social class, and ethnic group.[5] In short, social interaction leads to enhanced attractiveness while attractiveness tends to promote social interaction. The applicability of this reciprocal relationship, however, is not fully established with regard to explicitly cross-cultural situations. Rosenblatt laments that social interaction and attraction have "not been adequately dealt with" in cross-cultural literature.[6] While this study is not directly "cross"-cultural, it does examine several perceptual antecedents holding import for trans-racial communication and interpersonal relationship formation.

This study explores and compares attraction and communicator style variables as perceptual determinants of two interpersonal relationship types for a sample of black and white American college graduates. If Jones and Erickson et al. are correct in suggesting that personal attributes and social interaction tendencies are capable of distinguishing between cultural groups, then each racial group may well embrace a predisposing cognitive structure that serves to distinguish or identify relationship types. In short, to what extent, if any, do black and white Americans embrace similar perceptual expectations for attraction and interaction tendencies across relationship types? Among the more salient of social relationships are those for one's best male friend and best female friend. Additionally, one would anticipate that the opposite of best friend, i.e., least desired male and female acquaintance, ought to reveal maximal contrast with regard to perceptual expectations. While no formal hypotheses are posited, three research questions are salient. For blacks and whites who are presumably homogeneous along educational, economic and social lines: (1) Is there a significant race related difference between perceptions of attraction and communicator style for male and female "best friend" relationships, (2) Is there a significant race related difference between perceptions of attraction and communicator style for males and females of the "least desired acquaintance" relationship type, and (3) How do blacks and whites compare with regard to the structure of their perceptual expectations for the interrelationships between attraction and communicator style variables for self, best male friend, best female friend, least desired male acquaintance and least desired female acquaintance?

MEASURES

McCroskey and McCain have reported a factor analytic study that identifies thirteen Likert type items which serve to measure physical and task attraction.[7] These items in slightly revised form plus nine others were administered to 155 undergraduate students. The resulting measure contained variables that were overlapping and interdependent. Consequently, the infrastructure of the attractiveness measure was identified through McQuitty's Elementary Linkage Analysis.[8] The minimal correlation for inclusion was .50. Two clusters paralleling McCroskey and McCain's factor structures emerged. The first cluster was labeled "physical attraction" and consists of four items that tap sexual appeal and/or physical assets. The items are:

1. I am very sexy looking.
2. Members of the opposite sex find me sexually appealing.

3. Frequently members of the opposite sex look at me when I pass them on the street.
4. I am exceptionally well built.

The second cluster consists of four items and constitutes a measure of task attraction. The items are:
1. When assigned a job I do it well.
2. I have confidence in my ability to get a job done.
3. I am dependable.
4. I am a good problem solver.

Social interaction tendencies were assessed by a shortened version of the Communicator Style Measure (CSM). The measure has been previously established as a 51 item multidimensional instrument.[9] The CSM was administered to 600 undergraduates and the resulting data factor analyzed. Dimensionality under orthogonal rotation was essentially consistent with that revealed by previous analyses; oblique rotation, however, split the dominance dimension, the primary orthogonally identified factor, into two components: dominance and argumentativeness. The remaining factors maneuvered for priority due to the change in axis placement, but one dimension retained appreciable structural integrity across both analyses. In the interest of exploring the finer discriminations suggested by oblique analysis, the correlated dominance and argumentativeness factors (accounting for 46.8% and 11.4% of the variance respectively) and the single other factor retaining the greatest item allegiance across both oblique and orthogonal rotations were selected for inclusion in this study. The third dimension was labeled dramatic and accounted for an additional 7% of the variance. Previous work by Norton and Miller has established good internal consistency for the CSM factors.[10] Reliability in this study decreased to .78, .55, and .60 respectively for the dominance, argumentativeness, and dramatic components due to reliance on an oblique factor solution. This procedure does, however, afford the advantage of increasing the variance explained by each component. The factors and their respective items and loadings are:

Dominance:
1. In most social situations I generally speak very frequently. (.52)
2. I am easily able to break into a conversation. (.38)
3. I am dominant in social situations. (.68)
4. I try to take charge of things when I am with people. (.63)
5. In most social situations I tend to come on strong. (.61)

Argumentativeness:
1. When I disagree with somebody I'm very quick to challenge them. (.55)
2. In arguments I insist upon very precise definitions. (.46)
3. I am very argumentative. (.63)
4. It bothers me to drop an argument. (.53)
5. Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I have a hard time stopping myself. (.58)

Dramatic:
1. I dramatize a lot. (-.58)
2. I tend to constantly gesture when I communicate. (.58)
3. I often physically and vocally act out what I want to communicate. (-.72)
4. I use a lot of facial expression when I communicate. (-.51)

SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURES

Eighty post baccalaureate students enrolled in a variety of graduate academic programs at Indiana University participated in this study. Twenty black males, twenty black females, twenty white males, and twenty white females were *individually* asked to rate themselves on each attraction and communicator style item. The information was solicited by several research associates who were members of the racial group appropriate to each subject. Previous research has established that the race of the experimenter or interviewer affects choice of race in studies of preference. Essentially, while interviewers elicit a white context while black interviewers prompt a black context.[11] Graduate students were tapped for several reasons, most notably: (1) increased probability of educational, social, and economic homogeniety across racial groups, (2) presumed maturity, and (3) implicitly more established social skills in comparison with undergraduate students.[12] Each participant rated him or herself for each attraction and communicator style item on a four-point response scale. Additionally, each participant rated his or her best male friend, best female friend, least desired male acquaintance and least desired female acquaintance on the items in slightly revised form. The scores for each attraction cluster and each communicator style factor were collapsed; resulting in five separate scores (two for attraction and three for communicator style) for each target: self, best male friend, best female friend, least desired male acquaintance, and least desired female acquaintance. This multivariate data set was submitted to a variety of statistical analyses.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Univariate analysis of variance can be helpful in determining quickly if a multivariate data set contains any variable effects that may be worthy of more detailed attention.[13] Consequently, a variance decomposition procedure was executed to determine the presence of patterns, if any, in the responses of the major sub-groups within the sample. The entire data set may be visualized as three factorial [Race x Sex x Target] with five variables measured for each target. Analysis of *Race* x Target x Sex revealed that, in the sense afforded by univariate analysis, blacks rated physical attraction and dramatic significantly higher than did whites. Analysis of the data for *Sex* x Race x Target revealed no significant differences on any of the five variables for males or females. Analysis of *Target* x Sex x Race indicated significant differences between targets. The latter finding is not surprising since one ought to expect attraction and communicator style differences between best friends and least desired acquaintances.

A secondary procedure involved plotting the mean values by race and sex on the five variables for each of the major targets of interest. Figures 1 through 5 display subject response patterns for each target. Several insights are suggested by the figures. First, the displays help to clarify the univariate analyses. The variance decomposition routines, for example, indicated that blacks scored significantly higher than whites on the physical attraction variable. By examining and comparing data patterns across figures, one can observe that blacks do tend to generally rate the physical attraction variable higher than do whites. The pattern is particularly striking for ratings of self, least desired male acquaintance, and least desired female acquaintance. While the magnitude of the univariate F statistic on the dramatic variable was not as large as that for physical attraction [$F = 4.66$ versus $F = 9.83$, $df = 1, 398$], Figures 3 and 4 reveal that the ratings by blacks tend to be higher than the comparable ratings by whites. The second insight afforded by the figures is a visual display of what subsequent multivariate analysis of variance will analyze. A comparison of figures 2 and 3 (best male versus best female friend) highlights several features of the data. Males and females, regardless of race, tend to reverse the importance of physical attractiveness as a function of the sex of their best friend. Additionally, females of both races rate task attrac-

tion higher for a best friend male than do males; but whites of both sexes rate task attraction for a best friend female higher than do blacks. With regard to the communicator style variables, the patterns are not particularly different between the two targets of either racial group.

Comparison of Figures 4 and 5, least desired male and female acquaintance respectively, suggests that, aside from higher assessment on the physical attraction items by blacks, the patterns are not particularly dissimilar. Comparison of the figures for best friends versus least desired acquaintances (Figures 2 and 3 versus 4 and 5) is also suggestive. While the respective *patterns* among the communication variables are not highly dissimilar, least desired acquaintances are viewed as more dominant, more argumentative, and more dramatic than best friends. In contrast, best friends are scored higher on both physical and task attraction than less desirable acquaintances. Here too, however, the *pattern* between the attraction variables is similar across best friends and least desired acquaintances, i.e., best and least desired are both more physically attractive than task attractive. While these comparisons are heuristic and instructive, they do not directly address the several research questions.

FIGURE 1

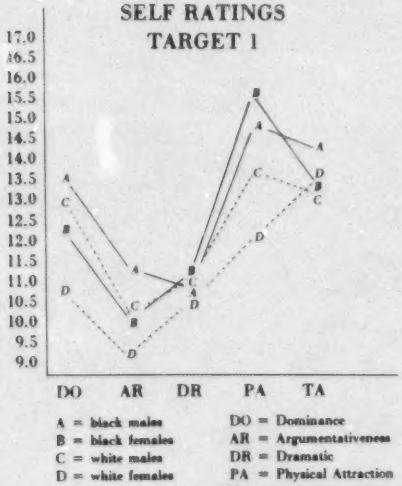
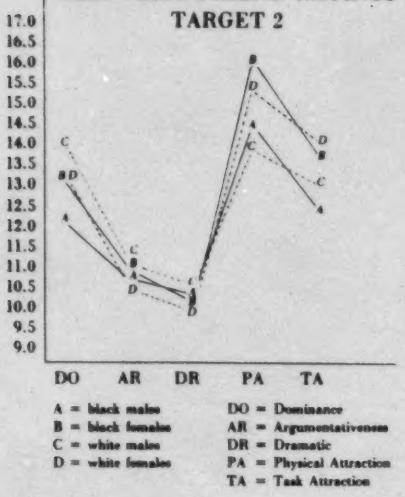


FIGURE 2

BEST MALE FRIEND RATINGS
TARGET 2

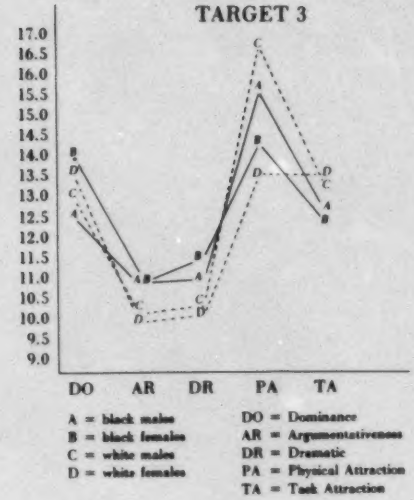


A = black males
B = black females
C = white males
D = white females

DO = Dominance
AR = Argumentativeness
DR = Dramatic
PA = Physical Attraction
TA = Task Attraction

FIGURE 3

BEST FEMALE FRIEND RATINGS
TARGET 3



A = black males
B = black females
C = white males
D = white females

DO = Dominance
AR = Argumentativeness
DR = Dramatic
PA = Physical Attraction
TA = Task Attraction

FIGURE 4

LEAST DESIRED MALE ACQUAINTANCE
TARGET 4

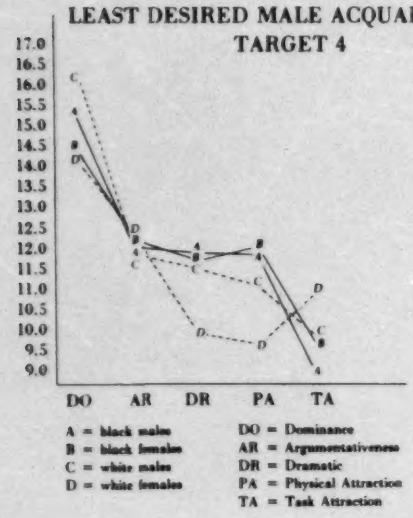
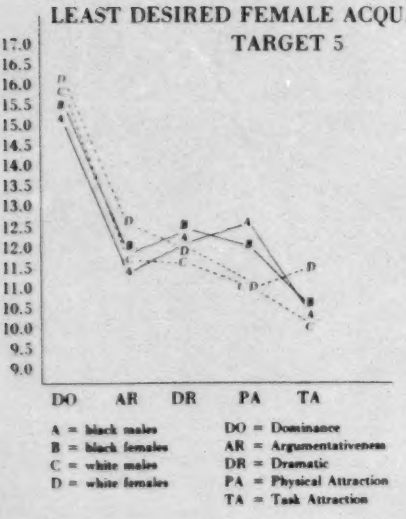


FIGURE 5

LEAST DESIRED FEMALE ACQUAINTANCE
TARGET 5



Two of the questions of interest in this study center around black and white differences in perceptions of the attraction and communicator style variables for (1) best male and female friend and (2) least desired male and female acquaintance. These data were partitioned and subjected to a three way multivariate analysis of variance (Race x Sex x Target).

The MANOVA on the data for best male and female friends revealed two significant F's. The data contain a race related effect and a two-way interaction between sex and target. The main effects for sex and target were not significant, nor were any of the other interactions. Table 1 displays a summary of the statistical results for the main effect.

TABLE 1
Multivariate and Univariate Analysis of Variance
on Race: Best Male Friend vs Best Female Friend

Multivariate Analysis of Variance		
df	F Ratio	p less than
5,72	2.63	.03
Univariate Analysis of Variance[a]		
Variable	F Ratio	p less than
Dominance	.96	.33
Argumentativeness	.93	.33
Dramatic	1.38	.24
Physical Attraction	.44	.50
Task Attraction	2.86	.09

[a]df = 1,76

One striking feature of Table 1 is that none of the univariate analyses attained statistical significance. The finding that the overall MANOVA F is significant, but all univariate analyses fail to contribute at the conventional .05 level may seem contradictory. This, however, is not actually the case. Cramer and Bock, and Yerby argue that once a significant MANOVA F is uncovered, it is appropriate to examine univariate F's on the several variables "to determine which of the variables were most sensitive" within the larger variable system.[14] The tendency is to equate "most sensitive" with "statistical significance." Since the set of univariate F's contains no statistically significant F ratio, this line of reasoning suggests that task attraction comes closest to being the "most sensitive" of the variables. The problem with such an interpretation, however, lies in expecting univariate tests to partition inherent redundancy and shed light on multivariate phenomena. It cannot be done meaningfully. Fortunately discriminant function analysis will identify which component(s) within a variable *system* is/are most sensitive. Discriminant function analysis assesses the entire system of variables simultaneously and provides, through standardized discriminant function coefficients, an accurate indication of the most sensitive variables.

Examination of the standardized discriminant function coefficients for this data set indicates that the most highly distinguishing attributes of whites' best friends when compared with the blacks' best friends is that the former tend to be seen as more dominant

(.94) and task attractive (.72). Blacks' best friends tend to be more argumentative (-.79), more dramatic (-.46) and more physically attractive (-.42). Examination of the discriminant function in accord with Cattell's procedures for identifying a scree,[15] i.e., a point at which a curve will become horizontal, reveals that the first four variables in the system are real in that each makes a unique contribution to the significant MANOVA F. The physical attraction variable is essentially a residual variable that contributes very little to distinguishing between best friends on the basis of race.

Table 2 displays a summary of the statistical results for the interaction between sex and targets two and three (best male and female friend). This MANOVA reveals the presence of a significant difference in the dependent variable system when best friend same sex is considered against best friend opposite sex. The univariate analyses suggest that physical attractiveness is a major element in the variable system and indeed this is confirmed by examination of the discriminant function coefficient for physical attractiveness (-.89). Analysis suggests that best friends opposite sex are seen by both blacks and whites as more physically attractive, task attractive (-.37), argumentative (-.22), and slightly more dramatic (-.01) than best friend same sex. The latter is recognized by his/her communicative dominance (.48). Assessment of the discriminant function by Cattell's scree test reveals the major discriminating variables to be physical attractiveness, dominance, and task attractiveness.

TABLE 2

Multivariate and Univariate Analysis of Variance on Interaction for Sex x Target (Best Male Friend and Best Female Friend)

Multivariate Analysis of Variance		
df	F Ratio	p less than
5,72	3.76	.004

Univariate Analysis of Variance[a]		
Variable	F Ratio	p less than
Dominance	.68	.41
Argumentativeness	.004	.95
Dramatic	.38	.53
Physical Attraction	14.76	.0001
Task Attraction	2.76	.10

[a]df = 1,76

A three way MANOVA for the data on least desired male and female acquaintances revealed two main effects and no interactions. As was the case for best friends, the data for least desired acquaintances involved a race effect. Table 3 presents a summary of the statistical findings. The univariate analyses indicate that physical attraction, when considered apart from other variables, is the single most sensitive variable. Examination of the mean scores and the appropriate Figures (4 and 5) indicates that blacks report seeing their least desired male and female acquaintances as more physically attractive than whites see their least desired male and female acquaintances. This finding, however, is not fully supported by discriminant function analysis. The standardized coefficients indicate that blacks view their least desired acquaintances as being more dramatic (-.81) and physically attrac-

tive (-.59) than whites see their least desired acquaintances. Whites, on the other hand, see their least desired acquaintances as being more task attractive (.45), dominant (.18), and argumentative (.16). The latter two variables do not, however, make a real contribution to the discriminant function as per Cattell's scree test.

TABLE 3

Multivariate and Univariate Analysis of Variance on Race:
Least Desired Male Acquaintance vs Least Desired Female Acquaintance

Multivariate Analysis of Variance		
df	F Ratio	p less than
5,72	2.37	.047

Univariate Analysis of Variance[a]		
Variable	F Ratio	p less than
Dominance	.42	.52
Argumentativeness	.31	.58
Dramatic	2.42	.12
Physical Attraction	4.35	.04
Task Attraction	2.56	.11

[a]df = 1,76

The second main effect in this data involves differences between least desired male and female acquaintances. Table 4 presents a summary of the multivariate and univariate tests. Univariate analysis suggests that task attraction is the most sensitive variable, but discriminant analysis reveals task attraction to be the third most discerning variable within the system. Undesired male acquaintances tend to be very argumentative (-1.23). Undesired female acquaintances tend to be more dramatic (.86), more task attractive (.80), somewhat more physically attractive (.42), and slightly more dominant (.32) than undesired male acquaintances. Examination of the discriminant function via Cattell's procedure reveals that each component of the equation makes a noteworthy contribution, although, as suggested by the relative size of the coefficients, of increasingly less magnitude.

TABLE 4

Multivariate and Univariate Analysis of Variance on Targets:
Least Desired Male Acquaintance vs Least Desired Female Acquaintance

Multivariate Analysis of Variance		
df	F Ratio	p less than
5,72	3.87	.003

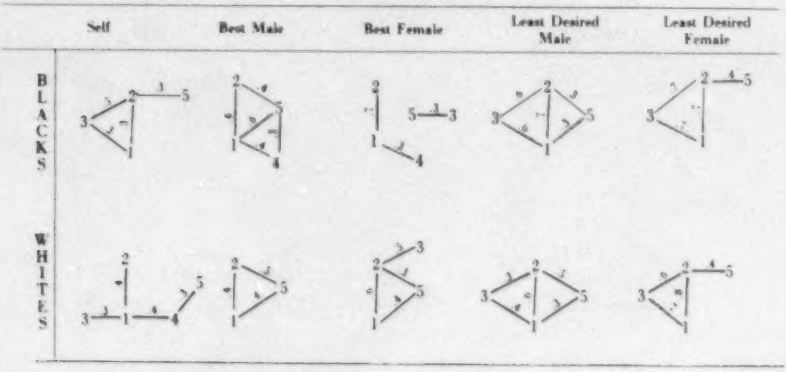
Univariate Analysis of Variance[a]		
Variable	F Ratio	p less than
Dominance	.98	.32
Argumentativeness	.35	.56
Dramatic	2.79	.10
Physical Attraction	.69	.41
Task Attraction	4.42	.04

[a]df = 1,76

While the MANOVA and adjunct are helpful in exploring how the particular attraction and communicator style variables shift or fail to shift as a function of race, sex, and target, we have yet to be afforded a clear visualization of the interrelationships among the variables as perceptual-cognitive determinants that potentially affect the formation of interpersonal relationships. The statistical analyses suggest that the greatest differences are primarily a function of race and secondarily a function of target, i.e., the relationship to and sex of the person rated. No surprising differences have been observed to derive from the sex of the persons making the ratings, i.e., male and female participants responded in essentially the same pattern for the various targets. In order to gain insight into the perceptual-cognitive structures created by the interrelationships between the attraction and communicator style variables for blacks and whites, McQuitty's Elementary Linkage Analysis was employed.[16] The composite variable scores were intercorrelated for each racial group on each of the five targets. Using a minimal correlation of .3, the linkages depicted in Figure 6 were constructed. Essentially, the figure provides a two dimensional display of the perceptual-cognitive variable structures for each racial group across all five targets.

FIGURE 6

BLACK AND WHITE PERCEPTUAL-COGNITIVE STRUCTURES FOR ATTRACTION AND COMMUNICATOR STYLE VARIABLES BY TARGET



In every case dominance and argumentativeness were related at or above the minimal level. This is not surprising since the variables are substantially correlated (as indicated by the oblique factor solution). Several additional features of the figure are striking, however. First, both blacks and whites possess the same basic cognitive inter-variable structure patterns for their least desirable male and female acquaintances. Not only the basic structures, but for the most part, the strength of the relationships between variables is remarkably similar. Second, with regard to best female friend, blacks and whites are rather dissimilar. Blacks see two unrelated components, each containing attraction and communicator style variables. Whites have a tighter structure, but do not incorporate physical attraction. With regard to perceptions of attraction and communicator style for best male friend, blacks and

whites are very stable, but blacks embrace a more comprehensive and complex structure. Aside from blacks being concerned with their best male friend's physical attractiveness, the major difference between best male friend and least desired male acquaintance is that the dramatic component emerges and attaches to the other communicator style variables. The dramatic component is also strongly attached in the structure for least desired female acquaintances for both races. Norton, et al. have argued that the dramatic facet of communicator style is not only the most visible style component, but may serve to create tension and may endanger a relationship.[17] Interestingly, the best male friend and least desired male acquaintance are perceived similarly by both races in that task attraction links with dominance and argumentativeness. The linkage, however, is stronger for best male friends, particularly for blacks. Blacks consider physical attractiveness as part of the perceptual-cognitive structures for best friends, both male and female; but do not report physical attractiveness as being an important component of self perception. Whites, contrastingly, link physical attraction within their perceptual-cognitive structures for self, but do not regard it as focal in the perceptual-cognitive structures typical of their best friends or least desired acquaintances.

DISCUSSION

This study derived from an interest in comparing perceptions of attraction and communicator style as potential determinants of interpersonal relationships for two different racial groups. Primary attention was focused on uncovering race related differences for perceptions of best friends and least desired acquaintances of both sexes. The data reveal no major sex related differences, except that males and females are more physically attracted to opposite sex friends than to same sex friends. Across both data sets (best friends and least desired acquaintances) a race effect was detected. For best friends, whites' report emphasizing dominance and task attraction, while blacks' report emphasizing argumentativeness, dramatic qualities, and physical attraction. For least desired acquaintances, blacks' report emphasizing dramatic qualities and physical attraction, i.e., they report perceiving more of these qualities in their least desired acquaintances than whites report perceiving in theirs. Least desirable male acquaintances tend to be more argumentative than least desirable female acquaintances. Least desired females tend to be more dramatic, task attractive, physically attractive, and dominant than least desired males. McQuitty's clustering technique provides some insight into how the attraction and communicator style variables interrelate for the perceptual-cognitive sets blacks and whites have of themselves, their best friends, and their least desired acquaintances.

Clearly, the results are far more provocative than definitive. While some parallels exist, the data indicate that blacks and whites hold different perceptual-cognitive structures for identifying best friends. The implication is that even with a degree of educational and social equivalence, blacks and whites integrate, value, and may even seek different patterns and/or attribute strengths when defining a best friend. Contrastingly, blacks and whites appear to be in rather striking agreement about the structural configuration typical of their least desired acquaintances. While highly speculative, the possibility exists that blacks may have been thinking of an undesired acquaintance who was white when reporting on that relationship type. While "race" as a response set was presumably minimized by employing research associates who were members of the same racial group as respondents, the fact that the larger university and community setting is overwhelmingly white tends to argue for an increased probability that both blacks and whites considered a white referent. The liklihood of the best friend referents being members of the opposite racial group is minimal since both blacks and whites tend to shun social interaction with one another.[18]

Lastly, the structural parallism between the blacks' self structure and that for both the blacks and whites least desired female acquaintance is curious. Although structurally parallel, the strength of the structures (as reflected by the magnitude of the correlations) is different. Strength and coherence rather than structure per se may constitute an important facet in defining relationship type. Overall, this study confirms that not only are attraction and communicator style variables operative in different interpersonal relationship types, but intimates strongly that the formation of positive relationships between members of different racial groups will require an appreciation, if not reconciliation, of perceptual differences.

NOTES

Larry D. Miller is Assistant Professor of Communication at Western Kentucky University. The author is indebted to Patricia Shipp, Laurietta Jordan, and Lillian Dunlap for research assistance.

[1]Dennis Ogawa, "Small Group Communication Stereotypes of Black Americans," *Journal of Black Studies*, 1 (1971), 273-281; Andrea L. Rich, *Interracial Communication* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), pp. 43-64.

[2]Rich, p. 61.

[3]G. M. Bartee, "The Perceptual Characteristics of Disadvantaged Negro and Caucasian College Students," *Dissertation Abstracts*, 29 (1968), 1529A.

[4]Enrico E. Jones, "Black-White Personality Differences: Another Look," *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 42 (1978), 244-252.

[5]Bonnie Erickson, E. Allan Lind, Bruce C. Johnson, and William M. O'Barr, "Speech Style and Impression Formation in a Court Setting: The Effects of 'Powerful' and 'Powerless' Speech," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 14 (1978), 266-279.

[6]Paul C. Rosenblatt, "Cross-Cultural Perspective on Attraction," in *Foundations of Interpersonal Attraction*, ed. Ted L. Huston (New York: Academic Press, 1974), p. 84.

[7]James C. McCroskey and Thomas McCain, "The Measurement of Interpersonal Attraction," *Speech Monographs*, 41 (1974), 261-266. McCroskey and McCain actually report three factors: social attraction, physical attraction and task attraction. Social attraction was excluded because this study is operating within the social arena, i.e., participants were reporting on their social relationships.

[8]L. McQuitty, "Elementary Linkage Analysis for Isolating Orthogonal and Oblique Types and Typal Relevancies," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 17 (1957), 207-229; L. McQuitty and J. Clark, "Clusters from Iterative, Intercolumnar Correlation Analysis," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 28 (1968), 211-238.

[9]Robert W. Norton, "Foundation of a Communicator Style Construct," *Human Communication Research*, 4 (1978), 99-112.

[10]Norton, p. 106; Larry D. Miller, "Dyadic Perception of Communicator Style: Replication and Confirmation," *Communication Research*, 4 (1977), 87-112.

[11]J. M. Sattler, "Racial Experimenter Effects in Experimentation, Testing, Interviewing, and Psychotherapy," *Psychological Bulletin*, 72 (1970), 127-160.

[12]The rationale for refining instrumentation for use with graduate students on undergraduate responses is twofold. First, the large N needed for reduction analyses precluded graduate students because adequate numbers were not available. Second, a parallel study is to be executed on undergraduates. Consequently, one set of measures was desired for future comparisons between samples.

[13]J. Grizzle, "An Example of the Analysis of a Series of Response Curves and an Application of Multivariate Multiple Comparisons," in *Essays in Probability and Statistics*, eds. R. Bose, I. Chakravarti, P. Mahalanobis, C. Rao, and K. Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970); Carl Huberty, "Discriminant Analysis," *Review of Educational Research*, 45 (1975), 543-598.

[14]Elliot M. Cramer and R. Darrell Bock, "Multivariate Analysis," *Review of Educational Research*, 36 (1966), 604-604; Janet Yerby, "Attitude, Task, and Sex Composition as Variables Affecting Female Leadership in Small Problem Solving Groups," *Speech Monographs*, 42 (1975), 160-168.

[15]Raymond B. Cattell, "The Scree Test for the Number of Factors," *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 1 (1966), 245-276.

[16]McQuitty; McQuitty and Clark.

[17]Robert W. Norton, Howard Sypher, Chris Clarke, and Robert Brady, "The Dramatic Communicator Style," Paper presented at the International Communication Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, April, 1978.

[18]Edward E. Johnson, "Social Perceptions and Attitudes," in *Comparative Studies of Blacks and Whites in the United States*, eds. Kent S. Miller and Ralph Mason Dreger (New York: Seminar Press, 1973), p. 392.

THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT: CRITICAL ISSUES FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING

WILLIAM G. DAVEY

Recent research and federal government policies have created significant planning issues for the bilingual movement. This paper discusses four critical issues surrounding the planning and implementation of bilingual education in the United States: (1) the relationship of bilingual education to civil rights; (2) the movement toward pluralistic programming; (3) the weaknesses of bilingual education programming; and (4) the effects of adverse publicity. After analysis of each issue, an overview of major policy implications is suggested. The paper concludes with three major recommendations which influence bilingual education planning: (1) the separation of the bilingual movement from school integration and civil rights; (2) the implementation of campaigns seeking majority support for bilingual education programs; and (3) the generation of state and local support for bilingual programming.

During the 1980 presidential campaign, candidate Ronald Reagan promised economic reform and a serious scrutiny of the American educational establishment. One of the first acts of President Ronald Reagan was to question the role of the federal government in educating students who cannot speak or read English.[1] The decision was made to replace the Carter administration's bilingual requirement with new regulations permitting local schools to decide for themselves how best to educate non-English speaking students. This decision was made because of the Reagan administration's perception that existing policies were "harsh, inflexible, burdensome, unworkable, and incredibly costly."[2] While the administration has reaffirmed its commitment to minority rights, it is clear that a significant alteration in policy will be sought.

Unlike many countries of the world whose language policies are established by constitutional means, U.S. language policies are legislated, and to a significant extent are subject to the influence of politics, professional associations and other socio-cultural factors. Perhaps the most controversial language policy in the United States to evolve from the interaction of political and professional interests is the bilingual education movement. Regarded by minorities, professional education organizations, and some politicians as a means of promoting educational success for non-English speaking students, bilingual education has enjoyed a resurgence since the early 1960's. Legal decisions, federal legislation, endorsement by such professional organizations as the National Education Association and the National Council of Teachers of English, as well as the support of minority educators have contributed to the growth and popularity of bilingual-bicultural education. Recent developments, including reports of low achievement trends, and a wave of opposition to bilingual education by conservative political elements and journalists, indicate the resurfacing of strong antibilingual education sentiments.

The purpose of this paper is to identify critical issues surrounding the planning and implementation of bilingual education in the United States. Successful resolution of these issues is critical to the future of the bilingual educational movement. One cannot avoid the conclusion, as sociolinguist Christina Paulston suggests, that in many cases the implementation of bilingual programs is "clearly a legal-political process rather than the pragmatic educational policy that Congress presumably intended with its transitional Bilingual Education Act of 1968."[3] During the Johnson and Carter administrations, the bilingual movement stabilized, creating the impression that the policy was deeply entrenched in the federal educational establishment. It is important not to lose sight of the fact that the policy is fundamentally political, and that an alteration in political views can radically alter the trend toward bilingual education. In addition to the political threat, journalists, scholars, and conservative elements have identified weaknesses and inherent problems. Given current conditions, the success of the bilingual education movement

appears to depend upon the resolution of four major issues:

1. The relationship of bilingual education to civil rights.
2. The movement toward pluralistic programming and popular support.
3. The weaknesses of bilingual education programming.
4. The effects of adverse publicity.

This paper will attempt to identify the major asects of each issue, overview the policy implications, and suggest a relationship to the field of intercultural communication.

Issue I: The Relationship of Bilingual Education to Civil Rights

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Title VII of the Amended Elementary and Secondary Education Act) made available funds to local school districts for developing and implementing "new and imaginative" programs for meeting the needs of students with limited English speaking ability. To this end, $117.19 million was expended between 1969 and 1973.[4] The 1968 act was restricted to low income children and provided no evaluation component.

On May 25, 1970, J. Stanley Pottinger, Director of the Office for Civil Rights, issued a memorandum to school districts with more than five percent national origin-minority group children. This memorandum suggested that compliance reviews conducted in school districts had revealed practices which denied equality of educational opportunity under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It further clarified the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's policy on the school district's responsibility to limited English speaking students. The document detailed four major areas that relate to civil rights compliance.

First, school districts must take affirmative action to rectify the language deficiency which excludes students from effective participation in the school's educational program. Secondly, districts were not permitted to assign students to classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of tests measuring English skills. Moreover, districts could not deny students college preparatory courses on the basis of their inability to speak English. Thirdly, any tracking system used with non-English students must be transitional and not operateas an educational dead-end. Finally, school districts must notify national origin minority group parents of school activities called to the attention of other parents. These notices may have to be given in a language other than English.[5] Implementation and enforcement of these procedures remained with the individual school districts.

The relationship of language policy for limited English speaking students and civil rights was reaffirmed by the United States Supreme Court on January 21, 1974 when the court reversed the Federal District Court decision concerning the lack of equality of educational opportunity for Chinese speaking students in San Francisco. The Lau v. Nichols decision has had a profound impact on the formulation of federal, state, and local policies, as well as the positions of several professional organizations. The Lau decision has formed the basis for federal policy since its implementation in 1974, and much of the confusion surrounding federal policy can also be attributed to this case. While the Lau decision never expressly indicated bilingual education as a remedy, the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare established guidelines for implementation of the decision. The "Lau Remedies" have become quite controversial both because of their commitment to bilingual education as a policy, and the confusion regarding their legal status. Teitelbaum and Hiller in their overview of the legal implications of bilingual education suggest that while the "Lau Remedies" do not carry legal

weight, they are regarded by the Office of Civil Rights as an agency interpretation. As such, "the Lau remedies clearly cannot be disregarded by school districts."[6] Paulston suggests that the Lau remedies have impact due to the federal government's "indirect control over the states' educational autonomy through the allocation of federal funding, and school districts which are judged out of compliance with the Lau decision stand the risk of losing all their federal funding, a most powerful argument for the implementation of bilingual education programs."[7]

The Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 further specified what constituted denial of equal educational opportunity. Regarding the language issue, the act suggests that "the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impeded equal participation by its students in its instructional program" constitutes a violation.[8] The act provides legal relief to minority persons who feel they have been denied equality of opportunity on the basis of language discrimination.

In many districts bilingual education programs have been associated with school desegregation. It has not been uncommon for districts to implement a bilingual program as a substitute for legitimate desegregation programs. The association of bilingual education with civil rights and desegregation has provided a tenuous political rationale as opposed to a strong instructional one.

Issue 2: The Movement Toward Pluralistic Programming and Popular Support

Perhaps the most controversial issue surrounding the future of bilingual education is the issue of cultural pluralism and mass support. A recent survey conducted by the Gallup Organization for a popular news magazine reported that some 53 percent of the respondents nationwide felt that it was not worth the money (21%) or disapproved (32%) of "classes conducted in a foreign language as well as English for children who don't speak English."[9] These attitudes combined with the evolution of largely minority support for bilingual education have created serious problems.

Another related issue which promises to have significant impact on the future of bilingual education is the assimilation versus pluralism controversy. Currently visible in the United States are essentially two types of bilingual educational programs: assimilation models which are designed to produce ethnic language shift, and pluralistic models which tend to foster native language and cultural maintenance while acquiring the second linguistic code and culture.

Sociolinguist Rolf Kjolseth distinguishes between the essential dimensions of assimilation and pluralistic models. "Assimilation programs are originated from 'above' by elites and administered in traditional ways by non-ethnic forces. Teachers propagate a superior brand of ethnic culture and language, and emphasize the superiority or inferiority of different varieties of language nd culture. Further, they restrict use to correct forms of school approved varieties."[10] Program evaluation is focused on the quality of individual performanc within the schooi setting on a host of skill, aptitude, and attitude measures in academic, linguistic, and psychological domains.[11]

In theory, pluralistic programs act "as a continuing stimulus to civic development and organization within the ethnic community . . . . The teaching personnel are credible exemplifications for ethnic and non-ethnic students and parents of successfully operative bilinguals and biculturals . . . . The linguistic and cultural content of the pluralistic program emphasizes the complementarity of different varieties of situationally appropriate culture and language. Language and culture perspectives are added without progressively

destroying home language and culture."[12] In evaluating bilingual programs in 1969, Kjolseth argues that "the great majority of bilingual programs (well over 80%) highly approximate the extreme of the assimilation model while the remaining few are only moderately pluralistic."[13]

Although it is generally agreed by sociolinguists that pluralistic models of the instruction are highly preferable, there seem to be several factors that preclude their general implementation. These include the high concentration of homogeneous ethnic groups on reservation lands and near border areas, lack of materials, and a shortage of qualified bilingual-bicultural teachers. While these factors represent legitimate justification for non-pluralistic programs, the overwhelming assimilationist tendencies exhibited by bilingual projects have prompted legislation promoting bicultural as well as bilingual education. Although the federal Bilingual Education Act of 1968 made no specific provisions for involvement of English speaking students, some states revised local legislation to reflect the benefits of cultural pluralism.

As early as 1969, the New Mexico State Legislature passed statutes advocating intercultural interaction between English speaking and non-English speaking students.[14] In 1972, the California Legislature passed Assembly Bill 2284 which provided guidelines for establishing bilingual-bicultural education. According to Wilson Riles, Superintendent of Public Instruction, the goal was to acknowledge bilingual education as the vehicle for meeting "the more urgent needs of the non-English speaking student, for providing bilingual educational opportunities for the monolingual English speaking child, and for promoting harmony between diverse cultural groups."[15]

With the support of the various state policies, a gradual trend toward pluralistic programming was represented by the 1973 enrollment figures in Title VII Bilingual Programs.[16] While the movement toward pluralistic programming continues, it is painfully slow. As a result, a significant gap exists between what theorists would like to see bilingual education become, and what actually exists. Joan Rubin suggested what seems to be the fundamental issue: "If the pluralistic model is preferred, bilingual education will be continued throughout the school system. It will be promoted among the major language speakers as well as among those from the minority languages. However, if assimilation is the model we choose, only minority-language members will be 'subjected' to bilingual education and only for the minimum amount of time necessary."[17]

It was suggested earlier that much of the rationale for bilingual education in the U.S. had a socio-political foundation. In his study of the justifications for bilingual education, E. Glyn Lewis suggests that from among linguistic, cultural/ethnic, psychological, pedagogical, and socio-political rationales, the latter receives the least support.[18] Given the tendency of American bilingual programs to be assimilationist, the orientation of most educational theorists to be pluralistic, and the popular support of bilingual education largely restricted to minorities, the future of pluralistic bilingual education appears to be in serious jeopardy.

Issue 3: The Weaknesses of Bilingual Educational Programming

Inherent to the success of any educational program is the internal consistency of its design and implementation. Summarizing Center for Applied Linguistics research on bilingual programs over a ten year period, linguist Rudolph Troike of Georgetown University raised serious concerns about the future of bilingual education. Troike writes: "Although progress has undoubtedly occurred in some bilingual education programs after ten years of experience, he state of the art generally has not been cumulative, and the field

remains rather inchoate."[19] Troike further laments the rather uneven quality of doctoral and teacher training programs in bilingual education, the general absence of systematic criteria for evaluation, the lack of comparability of data, and the general quality of programs. George Blanco suggests that there is little information on classroom practices, and the quality of programs as measured by the American Institutes for Research and Congressional General Accounting Office studies indicate rather sporadic achievement results nationally.[20] Unfortunately, much of the negative publicity generated by the AIR study is unjustified. While many weaknesses identified by this research certainly exist, it is appropriate to question the generalizability of the findings because of several methodological flaws in data collection and analysis.[21] The present issue, however, is not the quality of the research, but rather the study's negative impact on public policy concerning bilingual education. The findings, which disregard methodological problems, have been used extensively by legislatures, state departments of education, and federal agencies to justify funding cuts and program modifications, as well as to question the legitimacy of bilingual education in general. While refutation of these problems is being accumulated, the question of bilingual education's effectiveness still remains.[22]

Perhaps Troike summarizes what seems to be the heart of the programming issue:

> Unless the efforts to improve the quality of bilingual programs, teacher training, materials development, and evaluation improves significantly in the near future, no amount of political and legal support may be able to sustain the movement in the face of widespread adverse results. . . . the tendency for bilingual education to remain self-contained, to resist outside input, and to emphasize ideological commitment rather than content, could all act to prevent the realization of the quality which is so crucial to success of the movement. Time is running out for bilingual education unequivocably to demonstrate its value, and this must happen soon, if it is not to become simply another passing educational fad that failed to achieve its goals.[23]

Issue 4. The Effect of Adverse Publicity

In addition to the civil rights issue, the slow movement toward pluralistic programs, and several serious weaknesses in programming, bilingual education has been attacked by politicians, journalists, scholars, and other conservative elements. The movement has endured these attacks since the early 1970's, but in recent months the opposition has grown more frequent and more intense.

One of the earliest attacks which remains salient today was columnist Steven Rosenfeld's issue of practicality. Writing for the *Washington Post* in 1974, he stated "it is not clear how educating children in a language and culture of their ancestral homeland will better equip them for the rigors of contemporary life in the United States."[24]

Scholars who largely support the bilingual movement have also raised several issues which cloud the movement's future. H. Ned Seeley and Jacqueline H. Wasilewski suggest that bilingual education will experience serious trouble if its appeal and political backing continue to be limited to ethnic minorities. Further, the movement will be hurt if bilingual education continues to be associated with the school integration issue. The tendency for school districts to use bilingual programs as a substitute for legitimate desegregation policies is questioned. Finally, the authors raise the issue of economics and the nature of the responsibility of the federal government to "finance maintenance of ethnic languages and culture."[25]

Several syndicated columnists including Andy Rooney, James K. Kilpatrick, and James Reston have written columns questioning the value of bilingual education. Reston of the *New York Times* suggested that "the Reagan administration, like its predecessor has no answer to these problems, but at least it has refused to mandate the teaching of Spanish in the schools, and has left the decision to local option where the problem differs from one

school district to another. It seems a logical first step, but the battle is just beginning."[26] An editorial in the *Arizona Republic* seems to summarize current thinking, "Bilingual education is back where it belongs, in the hands of local school officials."[27]

SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The dramatic growth of the bilingual education movement occurred during a period of political, legal, social, and professional support. The movement never has been forced to undergo the rigors of stringent evaluation, and the current political climate suggests a significant alteration in policy. This new stance, combined with a negative public reaction to cost and worth, represents a serious threat to the bilingual movement. Lau v. Nichols said nothing about bilingual education. The major policy implications have rested with the interpretation and implementation enacted by the Office of Civil Rights. While liberal politicians, teachers, minorities, and professionals in intercultural communication support the concept of pluralistic education as a means to achieve equality of educational opportunity, it is difficult to believe the movement can continue to grow without massive federal, legal and financial support. Opponents of bilingual education appear to have a strong argument when they suggest the less expensive ESL approach is a viable means to achieve compliance with civil rights mandates.

The battle lines are drawn. The fundamental issue is pluralism v. assimilation. Given historical trends, the tendency for language training in the U.S. to have assimilationist orientations, the lack of majority support, the absence of codified evaluation, and the economic issue, it seems that the bilingual movement is seriously threatened. The issue for intercultural professionals is a severe erosion of the commitment to cultural pluralism.

For the bilingual movement to succeed, it appears several issues must be addressed. First, intercultural professionals must continue to support and conduct research which documents the benefits of pluralistic programs. The link between bilingual-bicultural education and increases in self-concept, school achievement, and social adjustment must be developed and verified.

Second, in light of the increasing reluctance of the Reagan administration to support pluralistic programming, intercultural professionals in communication, linguistics, and education must advocate the continuance of bilingual instruction at the state and local levels. To be successful, the following alterations in focus seem necessary: (1) The bilingual movement must be separated from school integration and civil rights issues; (2) Campaigns seeking majority support for pluralistic education must be implemented; (3) The dependence on federal legal and financial support must be minimized, and state and local support generated. If these goals can be accomplished, a significant shift away from political issues can take place.

Finally, the trend toward assimilationist programming must be reversed. With the prospect of an increase in ESL programs, intercultural professionals must work to assure that this model incorporates an appreciation of all cultures, fosters the sociolinguistic principles of language variation and appropriateness, and promotes egalitarian and not elitist values.

For many intercultural communication professionals, the commitment to research and teaching required for the bilingual movements' survival is consistent with current practice. For most of us, the role of public policy advocate is rather new. However, if the bilingual-bicultural movement is to succeed, a systematic and productive effort in teaching, research, and advocacy is required. It appears at present that if our discipline is to withstand the growing political shift back to the "melting pot," then this new role of public policy advocate is perhaps the most critical.

NOTES

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[1]"Reagan Scraps Plan for Native-Language Program in Schools," *Arizona Republic*, February 3, 1981, pp. A1 and A4.

[2]*Arizona Republic*, February 3, 1981, p. A1.

[3]Christina Bratt Paulston, *Bilingual Education: Theories and Issues* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1980), p. 13.

[4]U.S. Civil Rights Commission, *A Better Chance to Learn: Bilingual-Bicultural Education* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, May 1975), p. 180.

[5]*A Better Chance to Learn*, p. 204-206.

[6]Herbert Teitelbaum and Richard J. Hiller, "Bilingual Education: The Legal Mandate," *Harvard Educational Review* 47(2), May 1977, p. 153.

[7]Paulston, p. 12.

[8]*A Better Chance to Learn*, p. 175.

[9]"Why Public Schools are Flunking," *Newsweek*, April 20, 1981, p. 64.

[10]Rolf Kjolseth, Bilingual Education Programs in the United States: For Assimilation or Pluralism?", in Paul R. Turner, ed., *Bilingualism in the Southwest* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1973), pp. 14-15.

[11]Kjolseth, p. 14.

[12]Kjolseth, p. 10-11.

[13]Kjolseth, p. 15-16.

[14]For a discussion of the legislation and program problems in New Mexico, see Henry W. Pascual, *Bilingual Education for New Mexico Schools* (Sante Fe: State Department of Education, 1973).

[15]*Bilingual-Bicultural Education and English as a Second Language Education: A Framework for Elementary and Secondary Schools* (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1974), p. iv.

[16]U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. *The Bilingual Education Program*. National Center for Education Statistics, NCES 75-314.

[17]Joan Rubin, "Bilingual Education and Language Planning," in Bernard Spolsky and Robert Cooper, eds., *Frontiers of Bilingual Education* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1977), p. 288.

[18]E. Glyn Lewis, *Bilingualism and Bilingual Education: A Comparative Study* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), p. 256.

[19]Rudolph Troike, "Bilingual Education in the United States: The First Decade," *International Review of Education* 24(3), 1978, p. 404.

[20]George Blanco, "The Education Perspectives," in *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives — Education* (Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1977), pp. 1-63.

[21]J. M. O'Malley, "Review of the Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English Bilingual Education Program," *Bilingual Resources* 1(1978), pp. 6-10.

[22]Rudolph C. Troike, "Synthesis of Research on Bilingual Education," *Educational Leadership* 38(6), March 1981, pp. 498-504.

[23]Troike, pp. 404-5.

[24]Steven Rosenfeld, quoted in Tom Bethell, "Against Bilingual Education," *The Modern Language Journal* 63, September/October 1979, p. 276.

[25]H. Ned Seelye and Jacqueline Wasilewski, "Historical Development of Multicultural Education," Margaret D. Pusch, ed., *Multicultural Education* (La Grange Park, IL: Intercultural Network, 1980), p. 54.

[26]James Reston, "Bilingualism" *Arizona Republic*, February 5, 1981, p. A7.

[27]"Language: A Challenge," *Arizona Republic*, February 5, 1981, p. A6.

CITIZEN EDUCATION FOR CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING: DEVELOPING AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM WITH A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

WILLARD M. KNIEP

This article describes a project designed to facilitate the development of a "world-centered" curriculum (to promote a global understanding) in four elementary schools. Included is a review of literature that develops the need and rationale for such a program in elementary schools. The author summarizes the outcomes of the project and shares the insights that were acquired through the project.

We live in an increasingly complex world in which people, cultures, and nations are increasingly interrelated and interdependent. Though neither this statement nor the evidence which supports such an assertion are new, they are worth repeating since they continue to communicate an urgency about the world situation.

The human race continues to expand by 200,000 people every day. World population will increase by 73 million this year and much of this increase will be among the more than 800 million people who experience a daily gnawing hunger as they live a literally hand-to-mouth existence. The future promises an even greater interdependence among the earth's people. Children born into today's world of 4 billion people will share the world with three times that many human beings by the time they reach the age of 60.

Besides the continuing growth in world population, changes in other areas are equally as sobering as they illustrate the increase in interdependence among the world's species and systems. As examples, consider the following facts selected from recent news of the world:

1. Acids produced by smelters and factories are deposited daily in acid rains throughout the world — even in areas that are remote from any cities or industrial areas.

2. Traces of the chemical PCBP have been discovered throughout the world — even on the remotest of South Pacific islands.

3. Inflation and economic stagnation are worldwide rather than local or national problems.

4. U.S. industry is almost wholly dependent on foreign sources for chromium, cobalt, bauxite, manganese, and tin.

5. For the first time more automobiles are being produced in Asia than in North America.

6. One in six American factory workers is engaged in making something for export.

7. On a visit to the Grand Canyon, it is as common to hear German, Italian, Japanese, Spanish or Chinese spoken by one's fellow visitors as it is to hear English.

8. In all parts of the world millions are able to watch the drama of American hostages being released and arriving first in Africa, then in Europe, and finally in North America.

These examples clearly illustrate that the world is changing, is becoming more com-

plex, and its people more interdependent. Yet, the education that young people in the United States — and in other parts of the world — are receiving does not seem to be aimed at equipping them for life in such a rapidly changing world. Consider the following pieces of information in the context of the other examples cited above:

1. Less than one percent of the college age group in the U.S. is enrolled in any course which specifically teaches about international issues.

2. Fewer than two percent of high school graduates study a foreign language.

3. College enrollments in foreign language courses decreased by 30 percent in the 1970's.

4. Fewer than five percent of the teachers trained today have studied international or comparative education or taken any other intercultural courses in their work for certification.

5. Fewer than one percent of elementary age pupils are attending a school that has the development of an understanding of humanity's interdependence and the unity of the social and physical worlds as a stated goal.[1]

It seems clear that the changing world of today and tomorrow offers to education and to educators a new set of challenges for helping students assume a perspective and role as citizens not only of their community, state and nation, but also as citizens of the world. It also seems clear that, with few exceptions, schools and education in general have a long way to go in meeting these challenges. The point has been made by Becker that although respect for diversity has long been part of the American tradition, schools have not, in general, been guided by this principle. Instead, he says, "the focus has often been on teaching the 'American way' and presenting students with an uncritical chauvinistic view of our society."[2]

Former United States Commissioner of Education, Ernest L. Boyer, has suggested that American schools must develop and teach a new curriculum if they are to meet the challenges to global survival. Such a curriculum will grow out of a recognition of humanity's interdependence. It must be aimed at strengthening the linkages among the world's peoples and it must focus on the common future of humanity. In order to grasp the commonality of the world's inhabitants, Boyer says that students not only need knowledge of other cultures, they also need to develop attitudes for living interdependently. Such attitudes Boyer characterizes as "a sensitivity to the beauty and richness of human difference and a recognition that others have views of the world as valid as our own."[3]

One vision of schools that would be designed specifically to meet those challenges is offered by Lee Anderson as he describes "world-centered" schools.[4] These schools depart from old patterns of American education by emphasizing that all human beings are born into the "nation of persons" and therefore are entitled to respect, dignity, love and life as members of the human species. The "world-centered" school also emphasizes the relationship between the human species and their planet. While each person is entitled to share in the beauty and material benefits which the planet provides each person also has an obligation to take care of and preserve the earth. According to Anderson's vision, the school would go beyond merely providing knowledge about world issues to providing students with the skills and opportunities to take action to improve the condition of the world.

The efforts of the world-centered school would be directed at developing another set of basic skills in addition to those receiving so much of the attention in most schools. Becker lists some of the objectives that a world-centered school would strive to maintain:

1. Provide learning experiences that give the student the ability to view the world as a planet-wide society.

2. Teach skills and attitudes that will enable the individual to learn inside and outside of school throughout his or her life.

3. Avoid the ethnocentrism common in sharp divisions drawn between the study of us and them (America and the rest of the world).

4. Integrate world studies with developments in other disciplines.

5. Teach the interrelatedness of human beings rather than simply identify uniqueness of differences.

6. Explore future alternatives.

7. Recognize in the experiences provided for students the likelihood of continued change, conflict, ambiguity, and increasing interdependence.[5]

Becker believes that putting these objectives into a place of priority in American education is a matter of survival and is of great urgency. He writes:

> That each of us lives in a world community, that it is possible to maintain harmonious membership in family, church, local community groups, the nation, transnational groups, and in humankind generally may seem self-evident to some people, but in many communities they are matters of great controversy. If we are to avoid world conflict and solve global problems, many more people must hold these views. The world-centered school with its emphasis on helping children understand themselves as individuals, as members of a single species, and participants in a great variety of local, national and transnational groups, together with its emphasis on the 'oneness' of the modern world, can help students and other members of the community grapple with these complex and controversial issues. The school should make no pretense that it has the answers, but it can seek to help children and youth develop the identities and competencies needed to participate in todays' world.[6]

Beginning in September, 1979 and continuing through December of 1980, the author directed a project that was initiated by the Department of Elementary Education at Arizona State University to work with selected elementary schools in developing a more world-centered curriculum. This project was funded by the U.S. Office of Education as part of a program entitled "Citizen Education for Cultural Understanding." While our project was one of thirty-nine funded in 1979, it was the only one that was funded to work exclusively and directly with elementary school-age children.

Our efforts toward developing a world-centered curriculum for the elementary school were grounded in a growing body of research which supports the notion that it is absolutely crucial that education aimed at developing a global perspective for world citizenship must start at an early age. Much of this research has dealt with political socialization of children. Remy and his colleagues, in a monograph published by the National Council for the Social Studies, have abstracted from that research some of the implications related to the development of a global perspective among children.[7] From this research, two major conclusions seem to emerge in regard to the appropriateness of attempting to develop a global perspective among elementary school-age children.

The first of these conclusions is that children learn about the world and develop a world view in a cumulative manner. In the words of Remy, "What children learn about at one age builds upon and is influenced by what they have previously learned." Children will learn something about their world at every age which will influence subsequent learning about the world. It is important that learning about the interdependent nature of the world takes place at every stage of the child's development.

The second, related conclusion, is that by the time children reach the intermediate grades, approximately age 10 or 11, "They have developed a sense of national identity, and a set of attitudes, beliefs and values about their own and other nations as international actors."[8] Furthermore, the research reviewed by Remy suggests that in the years prior to age fourteen, children have not yet developed a rigidly stereotyped view of the world, yet they are sufficiently developed cognitively to make presentation of a diversity of viewpoints viable.

Judith Torney, after reviewing research related to how perspectives about the world are developed, concluded that the present curricular structure of most schools is a structure based on teaching children quantities of facts about different nations.[9] She suggests that we might do better by looking at the dynamic inter-relationships that develop stereotypes among children. Stereotypes, she explains, are concepts which children use to organize the masses of information they are expected to learn. If we are to avoid stereotypic thinking, she believes, we should teach children basic concepts of human culture as a framework for international/intercultural studies.

The Arizona project in Citizen Education for Cultural Understanding, was based on two generalizations about the world and its people in order to insure that Project activities would consistently present a global, world-centered perspective. These two generalizations became the foundation for project activities and the basis for a number of decisions that were made about participation, about materials and resource inclusion, and about program directions. They were stated as follows:

1. Humankind is one species within which people and cultures have developed a variety of responses to the same basic needs.

2. The earth on which we live is a system with a number of interrelated and interdependent subsystems.

Furthermore, the project staff identified eight key concepts around which the activities and the resources of the project were to be organized and which would give direction to curricular change in the schools associated with the project. We chose key concepts as organizers for project activities because of their potential for helping learners — young and old — to break away from patterns of stereotypic thinking. The concepts that were chosen, along with the meaning that was attached to each, are presented below:

1. Culture: that part of a people's environment and way of life that is created by the people themselves. People in different parts of the world have differing cultures, each of which is a unique way of adapting to an environment in order to respond to a common set of human needs. Every culture has as its elements, beliefs, values, traditions, language, customs, technology, foods, arts, dress, and institutions. Culture and its elements are learned through social transmission and are widely shared among the members of a society.

2. Interdependence: the notion that the elements or actors within a group or environment share not only a present situation but also a future that will be shaped by and is dependent

upon both independent and shared actions.

3. Perspective: the realization that the appearance of a setting, situation, or event is dependent upon the characteristics and situation — e.g., cultures, nationality, race, age, sex, economic level, etc. — of the perceiver. A skill to be developed is the ability to assume the perspective of another.

4. Conflict: the concept that people and nations often have opposing values, goals and perceptions or differing means for achieving goals, resulting in disagreements and tensions. Implied in the concept is a need for developing skills in co-existence, negotiation, living with ambiguity, and peaceable means of conflict resolution.

5. Change: the process of movement from one condition or state to another. The realization that change is constant and is an inevitable part of life and living.

6. Communication: the exchange of information and ideas among people. Without communication there can be no understanding among peoples, cultures, or nations.

7. System: a group of interacting and interdependent parts or elements that make up a unified, functioning whole. Injury to any part affects the well being of the whole.

8. Time: the measure of a period when something takes place, the point when something takes place, or a means of determining location in relationships to the past and present. The sense that one is linked to one's ancestors and to one's descendants. Conceptions of time vary according to cultural perspective.

Four schools from four different areas of Arizona were chosen to be part of the project as model schools. The schools were chosen on the basis of (1) the expressed willingness of the school staff and administration to undertake change as they worked toward the goals of the project, (2) ability of the school and community to accept the project's basic assumptions, and (3) the extent to which the school represented some parts of the ethnic, geographic, and socio-economic diversity of the State. In fact, the schools that were chosen to participate represented rural, small town, urban and suburban communities and included a broad range of ethnic and socio-economic characteristics. The schools were to function as models in the sense that they were to undertake the development of a model for a world-centered curriculum which best suited them and their circumstances.

Within each model school the staff selected a three-person team to provide leadership in working toward the project's goal of infusing a global perspective into the life of the school. The plan of the project was to provide the leadership team, through a series of workshops held at Arizona State University, the opportunity to become sensitized to the neds for a more global perspective and to provide them with knowledge and skills to enable them to sensitize and train their own school staff in developing a more global perspective. As a result, each school was to develop a plan for making their curriculum world-centered. The project provided technical assistance, materials and resources as these plans were developed. The assistance continued through the initial stages of the plan's implementation.

While the results of the project are still being compiled, and the effects of the project will continue to emerge for some time, the principal goal of the project has been met. This goal was for each model school to develop a plan for incorporating a global perspective into the curriculum and life of the school. Each school developed such a plan. This fact alone is remarkable given the current pressure on American schools to concentrate almost exclusive-

ly on the teaching of the basic skills.

A great deal of variation was evident in the plans that were developed by the four model schools. One of the schools decided to identify itself as a "global school". Two of the schools decided to adopt several of the eight concepts as major themes for organizing their curriculum. One of the schools decided to adopt an area of the world — the Middle East — as the major focus for school-wide and grade level study activities and to identify the eight concepts within the context of their study of that region. Two of the schools decided to engage children in a comparative look at elements of culture — food, language, dress, technology, beliefs, customs, etc. — as different countries or regions of the world were chosen for emphasis in the life of the school for a period of time.

Some of the schools came closer to adopting what we on the project staff held to be the ideal world-centered curriculum than did others. But in the final analysis, this had little to do with the success of the project or with the success of that school's plan as it was being implemented. It became obvious, too, as we moved into the initial phase of implementation of the plans in the Fall of 1980, that there would be great variation among the schools in the extent to which it would be possible to implement the plans. Nevertheless, life within each school will be different for both children and adults just because those within the school had the opportunity to look at themselves in relation to the world and to ponder how their school might become more world-centered in the outlook that it presents to children.

As a result of the project, each of the schools has reviewed, evaluated, and acquired a broad new set of resources that were selected because of their contribution to a global perspective. Each school has begun to use a new set of criteria — one that incorporates standards for a global perspective — for evaluating resources and materials that are to be acquired in the future. Each school has undertaken a community survey of people, groups, and organizations that can contribute to the development of a global outlook in the life of the school. Each has also developed plans and activities for using those valuable community resources. Each school has held at least one global festival or fair which has become a focus for community involvement. And most importantly, each school is devoting more time than ever before in planning and instruction aimed at developing a global perspective.

An additional outcome of the project has been the insights acquired by the project staff and leaders related to school change and the development of a world-centered curriculum. In this project, schools seemed to be most successful in developing a plan for curricular change where there was a broad consensus among the individuals who were expected to implement the change that it was both desirable and possible to change. In the school where there seemed to be a perception among the staff that there was pressure from central administration to take part in the project, there is less evidence that the project had an effect on the school and its curriculum. This experience leads to the conclusion that as a minimum condition there must be an openness to the processes leading to change on the part of those who are expected to implement change if that change is going to take place.

Closely related to that insight is the realization that the stronger the sense that there is support from central administration and the community for innovation, the greater the likelihood that change will take place. The most comprehensive plan for infusing a global perspective into the life of the school was developed in the school where central administrators took an active interest in the project and directly and continuously communicated their approval and support to those who were attempting to make the changes. Favorable coverage and supportive editorials by local newspapers and media were also factors in supporting a sense of positive morale among teachers at all of the model schools.

The need for a change to a more world-centered curriculum needs to be clearly established before a school staff will undertake such a change. In the project we were successful in developing the perception of need among the leadership teams because we were able to demonstrate the multitude of linkages that exist between our community and the rest of the world. To accomplish this sensitization, we involved members of the leadership teams in interactions with executives and workers from locally based multi-national corporations, representatives from the international department of a large local bank, clergy from local churches, and members of international civic clubs. In addition, the teams were involved in acquiring information from a variety of sources about such diverse topics as global weather systems, anthropological comparisons of world cultures, and world economic interdependence.

Our conclusion from this phase of the project, and based on the experience of the leadership teams in their own communities, is that every community has linkages with other parts of the world and therefore has the resources at hand to engage in a demonstration of world interrelatedness and interdependence. Every team was able to replicate many of the sensitization activities with their own staff and most found that there are many people in the community who are willing to participate. Helpful resources in examing the linkages of a community with other parts of the world are publications like **Columbus in the World,** available from the Mershon Center. Such publications serve as models for carrying out such an investigation in any community.[10]

Part of the support efforts of the staff in the project included the task of compiling and evaluating resources that are currently available for implementing a world-centered curriculum. The bibliography of usable resources that was developed as a result of this task includes a great variety and abundance of existing materials which are suitable for use in the elementary classroom.[11] The project staff evaluated more than two thousand resources of various kinds from many sources. The range of resources was broad and included commercial textbooks (which generally were evaluated to be among the poorest resources), trade books for children, films and other audiovisuals, games, resource kits, and materials that were produced for some purpose other than education. While it may seem obvious that the availability of resources should not be a barrier to the development of a school experience with a global perspective, it is also obvious that the mere existence of usable resources with a global perspective has had little effect on school practices.

The implementation of a world-centered curriculum calls for a new perspective and a new set of skills on the part of teachers. Teachers who are going to deliver such a curriculum will have to find new ways to structure classroom environments that are consistent with the generalizations and concepts that are part of such a curriculum. It makes little sense to teach interdependence as a concept in an environment where the relationship between child and teacher is one of dependence and the relationship between child and child is independent. Furthermore, teachers who are working with the world-centered curriculum will need to possess skills that foster critical thinking in students such as the ability to facilitate inquiry, to ask higher order questions, and to order their thinking and work around concepts rather than blocks of information. Many teachers have not been trained to think and behave in these ways. The implication of this is that change may not take place unless the opportunity for developing new skills has been provided.

If the process of changing schools to be more world-centered is to be successful, then those who are in positions of leadership will need to ensure that the proper ingredients are present in support of that process. Teachers and other staff members must be involved in the decision-making processes leading to change. Visible, active support from the community and the school leadership must be forthcoming. The need for a global perspective

must be clearly established and kept in a position of high priority. One of these ingredients is the identification and involvement of those parts of the immediate community with global linkages. Resources with a global perspective must be placed in schools for use by teachers and children. Finally, teachers must be provided with opportunities for continuing education that will enable them to develop the perspective and skills for effectively implementing the curriculum of the world-centered school.

NOTES

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[1]Ernest L. Boyer, "A Global Perspective. The New Imperative," *Today's Education*, (November-December, 1978), 68-70.

[2]James M. Becker, "The World and the School: A Case for World-Centered Education," in James M. Becker, ed., *Schooling For A Global Age*. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1979), p. 37.

[3]Boyer.

[4]Lee Anderson, *Schooling and Citizenship in a Global Age: An Exploration of the Significance and Meaning of Global Education* (Bloomington, Indiana: Social Studies Development Center, Indiana University, 1979).

[5]Becker, p. 42.

[6]Becker, pp. 42-43.

[7] Richard C. Remy, James A. Nathan, James M. Becker, and Judith V. Torney, *International Learning and International Education in a Global Age*, (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1975), pp. 39-40.

[8]Remy, p. 39.

[9]Judith V. Torney, "Psychological and Institutional Obstacles to the Global Perspective in Education," in *Schooling For A Global Age*.

[10]For information write to The Mershon Center of the Ohio State University, 199 West 10th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43201.

[11]*Annotated Bibliography of Materials for Developing Cultural Understanding and Global Awareness in the Elementary School*, (Tempe, Arizona: Department of Elementary Education, Arizona State University, 1980).

BOOK REVIEWS

ETHNICITY AND INTERPERSONAL INTERACTION: A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY. By David Y.H. Yu (Ed.). Singapore: Maruzen Asia, 1982.

This book concerns the paradox of a growing emphasis on ethnic boundaries in a world of diminishing real cultural differences. Drawing on a series of case studies of intergroup relations and interpersonal interaction in various multi-ethnic societies, it addresses three major problems in ethnicity research: situational variation in ethnic identity, the relationship between ethnic differences and cultural differences, and the organizational basis of ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations. The book represents one product of an East-West Center research project entitled "Interpersonal Interaction in Pluralistic Societies," a project which twice brought together all of the volume's contributors to discuss their research and to coordinate their separate case study investigations around a set of common research questions.

The bulk of the case studies are from East and Southeast Asia—Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand; but Papua New Guniea, Hawaii, San Francisco's Chinatown, and a town in New York are represented as well. With the exception of one linguist, the contributors are all anthropologists or psychologists. Strikingly, most of the contributors are also indigenous scholars, writing about their own societies. All of the case studies make some effort to answer questions such as: What is the historical background to the present ethnic situation? What are the comparative positions of the ethnic groups concerned? What are the criteria for ethnic group membership? Given ethnic boundaries (or perhaps in spite of them), how do people of different groups interact? Such questions are pursued in accounts of Chinese, Indians, and Malays in Singapore; Koreans in Japan; Chinese, Hmong, and Thai in northern Thailand, and so on. The stories are quite varied with respect to detail and depth, and with respect to the degree to which they appear to present new findings or insights about the relationships in question. The separate case studies differ as well with respect to theoretical content; most simply "present the facts," while some turn to the theoretical perspectives of Shibutani and Kwan or M. G. Smith.

The theoretical contribution of the book is found in the conclusion, co-authored by the editor, David Wu and Brian Foster. Several issues are raised and illustrated with material from the case studies. The degree to which actual cultural differences accompany ethnic differences is shown to vary widely. At one extreme are the Koreans in Japan, who are culturally Japanese; near the other are Thai-Thai Muslim differences. Somewhere in the middle of this hypothetical continuum would be the situation in Hawaii, where the various immigrant groups have developed a strong substratum of common culture. This issue relates to others—for example, variation in the degree of "situational ethnicity," or the ability of individuals to successfully assert an ethnic identity other than their primary one to claim certain rights and privileges. Thus, and again at the extreme, Koreans in Japan often (but not always) pass as Japanese. Also related is the problem of "salience," or the range of "important issues" at stake to which ethnic alignments are relevant. Here, however, not only sociocultural differences may intrude; legal actions may channel important political or economic interests along ethnic lines, as the case of Malaysia (with its colonial experience) illustrates.

Throughout their conclusions, the authors wisely diverge from the traditional—and unfortunate—preoccupation with the "ethnic group" as the fundamental unit of inquiry

and with "ethnic identity" as an invariant attribute of individuals. Just as an individual's ethnic identity is problematic, so too do particular ethnic categories vary considerably with respect to "organizational strength," or the degree to which they display certain key structural properties—centrality in communication and decision-making, clarity of boundary, and so on. The concluding discussion concerns reasons for variation in these properties, and hence reasons why ethnic "groups" vary with respect to their group-like characteristics.

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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: A READER. By Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Third Edition, 1982, pp. viii + 423.

The first and second editions of this reader in intercultural communication represent one of the few commercially successful books of this sort within the field of communication. This commercial success is justified, since obviously these editions have much to commend them. Probably the major factor which distinguishes this series of editions is the large number of commissioned articles and the substantial changes from edition to edition. In the third edition, there are 27 new articles, 12 of which were commissioned.

In all, there are 41 articles in the third edition representing a wide range of perspectives on intercultural communication. These articles are organized in four closely-related parts with seven chapters. Chapter 1 contains a number of essays by prominent scholars in intercultural communication which establish the foundations of the discipline. Chapter 2, "Understanding Foreign Cultures," broadens the perspective offered in the previous editions by including articles on the Middle East and India, as well as continuing the focus on Japan. Chapter 3 contains a number of articles on nondominant American subcultures. The role of verbal and nonverbal interactions in intercultural communication is covered in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively. Chapters 6 and 7 discuss issues of growing pragmatic concern relating to effectiveness and ethical issues in intercultural communication. The authors in these chapters have selected articles which justifiably stress the importance of cultural plurality and maintenance of the integrity of existing cultures throughout the world.

The very scope of this edition raises some problems for the naive reader. In intercultural communication, perhaps more than in other disciplines, the undergraduate student needs to be guided through a thicket of divergent approaches and to be given some idea of how an individual article relates to the field. The transitions and overviews which are provided in this edition tend to be previews and concise abstracts which do not rise above the material to provide the reader with a feel for the nature of our discipline's traditions and where an individual article stands within them. This is a problem endemic to all readers of this sort, and the authors, on a more positive note, have gone beyond most readers in providing annotated notes and lists of major additional readings at the end of chapters.

One of the general problems with collections of academic articles generally is the growing gap between them and the general reader, especially undergraduate communication students. In their preface, the authors state that they intend the articles for undergraduates, as well as graduate students, maintaining that only one or two articles should exceed the level of difficulty found in most advanced undergraduate texts. This assertion is highly debatable. Certainly the volume benefits greatly in this respect from articles which have been added by Barnlund and others which will probably be quite insightful and understandable for this group of readers. However, a number of articles which were retained, including the articles by Sechrest, Fay and Zaidi, Folb, and Price are either highly specialized or pedantic.

Two problems related to content emphasis also caused this reader some concern. First, many of the articles, especially those in the nonverbal section, point to differences between cultures. However, few of the articles establish that these differences do in fact make a difference in communication. I for one would like to see some carefully done logical or empirical work specifying the linkage between differences and problems in intercultural communication. It would seem that what is needed at this point is identification of underlying structures and concepts, not more descriptive studies detailing how two cultures are different.

Second, many potentially interesting areas of intercultural communication are not given sufficient attention, especially the more macroscopic areas of organizational and mass communication. This is especially disturbing in the case of organizational communication where there is a rapidly growing interest in organizational cultures and in related issues of role taking and socialization. The only article related to mass communication, that by Gumpert and Cathcart, effectively points out the media's role in impression formation. The media also play crucial roles in the social construction of reality and as the sole source for some information related to other cultures, which are never effectively discussed. These and other missing areas call into question whether or not this reader is indeed appropriate as a resource or supplementary text for the number of courses suggested by the authors in their preface.

In summary, while this reader suffers from many of the problems endemic to all books of this genre, it also has many positive points which account for its traditional popularity. It does an excellent job of bringing together in one place many of the major ideas related to nonverbal, interpersonal, and linguistic aspects of intercultural communication. In class it should be used judiciously to supplement a focused textbook and lecture framework.

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THE MANAGEMENT OF INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS: A DIRECTORY OF RESOURCES. By George Renwick (Ed.). Chicago: Intercultural Press, Inc., 1982, pp. vi + 71.

I must say at the outset that I am an anthropologist and that, being so, I approach this book with certain prejudices. I am also currently an administrator, however; I was

a businessman in the past, and I am sufficiently of this world to know that academic solutions to problems are not the only ones. From this second perspective I see some value in this small book, which is an un-annotated bibliography of materials on intercultural relations—in the words of the editor, on ". . . *interaction* between people from contrasting cultural backgrounds . . ." The materials are selected and organized in such a way as to be of use to businessmen working in intercultural settings. The book contains 303 bibliographic items grouped under 17 headings, some of which are further subdivided. Some of the categories are quite general ("General Sources" or "Basic Sources in Intercultural Communication") while some are quite specific (e.g., "Transfer of Personnel," "Staffing," or "Transfer of Products"). One of the strangest features of the book is the uneven coverage of the topics; "Multicultural Organization Design" has a single entry, "Negotiations (International)" has two entries, and "How Foreigners See Americans" three entries that total perhaps five pages. Although the book contains some materials on "Relations with Nationals from Specific Countries," the editors say in the Introduction that they have not included materials describing a single country or comparing two countries, but rather focus on material on intercultural communication as such.

There is a great deal to be gained from a knowledge of the kinds of problems arising in intercultural interaction, not the least of which is a sensitivity to differences in cultural values, expectations, and so on. To know that certain kinds of problems may arise is to be prepared for a great deal. Insofar as the book guides one to materials that foster this kind of sensitvity, it is useful. But here the anthropologist in me comes out. There are *very* strict limits to how far the helpful-hints approach can take one in really dealing with the problems arising in intercultural communication. Anthropologists are probably the one group of academics whose methodological specialty is precisely dealing with cross-cultural variation. They work generally in the most remote, exotic, even bizarre locations, the success of their research depending in almost all cases on their success at managing intercultural relations with those whom they study. If they have learned anything from these experiences that is helpful to pass on to their students, it is that they can't teach them how to establish good rapport, and so forth. There is simply no quick fix for success in intercultural relations—no shortcut to simply learning a great deal about the people with whom one must interact, their customs, beliefs, values, prejudices, and everything else that makes them who they are. Anyone who thinks there are easy solutions to these difficult problems is simply whistling in the dark. So, although there is a place for work such as the one under review, and although it can be useful if seen in proper perspective, its usefulness is limited. The orientation it represents can easily mislead, particularly to the extent that it suggests that real solutions to problems in intercultural interaction can be found with a little knowledge of "others" and a bag of tricks for interacting with them.

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UNDERSTANDING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION. By Larry A. Samovar, Richard E. Porter and Nemi C. Jain. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1981, pp. xiii + 222.

This undergraduate textbook of intercultural communication is comprised of four very logical sections which, taken together, encompass the whole subject. The first part provides a discussion of such essential elements as communication, culture, perception, values, and concepts of time and space. This is the least useful section of the book, but it is necessary, of course, to deal with these basic concepts before moving on to the "good stuff." The second part deals with understanding ourselves and others. A chapter is devoted to dominant patterns in our American culture, and another chapter is devoted to the patterns found in other cultures. The third section deals with the means all of us use to communicate—language (our own or someone else's) and the multitude of nonverbal devices—general appearance and dress, body movements, facial expressions, eye contact, touch, smell, paralinguistic elements, space and distance, time, and silence. The final section deals with improvement of our intercultural communication skills—horizons and limitations. The elements which potentially hamper intercultural communication are enumerated and discussed, with emphasis on how we might improve our communication. The book ends with a brief look at the future of intercultural communication.

Two of the book's most useful features are the discussion questions and the practical exercises which follow each chapter. A text for a topic as relatively new in terms of being a separate discipline, and as interdisciplinary as intercultural communication, doesn't really become outdated in five years, yet the 1981 copyright date on this volume is too appealing not to choose it when deciding upon a text. It is my prediction that, in the long run, the book's format will be responsible for the restructuring of many college courses to follow its breakout of the various areas of coverage, because it forms a very logical (in the Western sense) order.

Rather than discuss each chapter with equal emphasis, I will point out the parts of the book I find most valuable. Though Chapter 1 deals with the basics everybody already knows, by the time we get to Chapter 2 we are down, in earnest, to the real thing, and from that point onward the pace never lets up. Chapter 3 presents cogent arguments as to why it is necessary to understand one's own cultural conditioning and why all people have such a low level of cultural awareness. In describing the attributes and characteristics of the dominant cultural patterns of middle-class Americans, all the standard sources—principally Florence and Clyde Kluckhohn, Edward Stewart and Alfred Kraemer—have been used. The resulting synthesis that makes up Chapter 3 is the best short description of what North Americans are like of which I am aware though Kraemer's concept of "projected cognitive similarity," which describes a common human failing, might be missed since it is skipped over so lightly.

This chapter also provides the reader with a neat list (although not presented in list form) of the dominant American cultural patterns: (1) mastery over and control of the physical universe, (2) supremacy of science and technology, (3) materialism, (4) action orientation, (5) association with one's own work/profession, (6) separating work and life, (7) efficiency, practicality, (8) problem-solving perspectives, (9) pragmatic thinking, (10) straight talk, directness, (11) progress and change seen as inevitable and desirable, (12) high value placed on time, (13) future orientation, (14) belief in the forward flow of time,

(15) belief in the perfectability of human nature, (16) rationality, (17) validity of free enterprise and competition to bring out our best, (18) identity resides in the self (e.g., self-image, self-esteem, self-reliance, self-help, self-motivation, self-determination, etc.), (19) individualism, (20) ease of upward social mobility, (21) emphasis on equality of relationship rather than hierarchy, and (22) pressure for conformity.

Chapter 4, which attempts to do for all other cultures what Chapter 3 did in presenting the dominant patterns of the American culture, does so somewhat less successfully. But then, who could hope to present all other cultures in a single chapter? It does, at least, present some of the thousands of possibilities. It raises, once more, the question of how the classroom professor can apply all this theory to the real world when none of his/her students are actually going anywhere, at least not at the moment. Chapter 4 also presents a convincing discussion of the negative effects of projected cognitive similarity, stereotyping, and ethnocentrism, in addition to pointing out the differences between the ideal and the actual, in any culture, and the destructive effects of racism and sexism. Yu-kuang Chu's six suggestions provide any student with an excellent "how-to" appproach to learn about other cultures.

The influence of perception on intercultural communication presented in Chapter 5 is the best I have seen anywhere. Also of great value are the potential problem areas the would-be intercultural communicator should be aware of, and the practical steps we can take to improve our communication across cultures.

At the risk of repeating myself, I want to praise the overall structure into which the various pieces of our field have been so carefully placed by Samovar, Porter, and Jain. This seemingly simple contribution to our field cannot be over-rated.

L. ROBERT KOHLS
U.S. International Communication Agency

THE TONGUE-TIED AMERICAN: C[illegible]ONTING THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CRISIS. By Paul Simon. N[illegible]rk: The Continuum Publishing Corporation, 1980, pp. ix + 214.

The author of this book, Congressman Paul Simon, a representative from Illinois and Chairman of the House Select Subcommittee on Education, was appointed by President Carter to a special commission to study foreign language and international education in the United States. *The Tongue-Tied American* focuses on our shocking state of illiteracy in foreign languages, and how tongue-tied Americans are paying a heavy price, diplomatically, commercially, economically and culturally, for their inability to communicate. Paul Simon, in this first book-length analysis of a crisis that harms America, outlines how it causes severe security losses. Simon not only examines America's dangerous disinterest in foreign language study and usage but outlines specific steps that this nation can take to extricate itself from the "educational and cultural quicksands" in which it finds itself.

The book ranges in its aim and scope from the problem of how "Americanization Has

Its Weaknesses" in the very first chapter to "The Trade Gap," "The Security Problem" and "The Cultural Problem," giving incisive insights into the situation prevailing from elementary to high school, and the intensive and extensive problems with language and language study in colleges and universities throughout the country. Simon expresses great concern about the "Quality" (Chapter 7) of foreign language education in the U.S. and suggests definite steps to take through "The Less Traditional Approaches" (Chapter 8) to remedy the situation. Chapters 9 and 10, respectively deal with "State Leadership" and "Jobs." The last two chapters, "A Commission—and Hope" and "Follow-Through," deal with the importance of examining our hopes and fears, evaluating the actual conditions confronting us, and developing appropriate strategies and solutions.

This book, as pointed out in the Preface by Paul Simon, is not written by a language expert, nor is it addressed primarily to language experts. "My hope," says Simon, "is that it will reach much beyond that limited audience . . . I am concerned about what is happening in my country and I want to share that concern with others who are serious about the course and destiny of our nation."

This book should appeal to anyone with a humanistic sensitivity. People in the media, educators, governmental agencies, international organizations, and members of the business community should value this reasoned call for a return to foreign language training.

VASANT V. MERCHANT
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COUNSELING AMERICAN MINORITIES: A CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE. By Donald R. Atkinson, George Morten, & Derald Wing Sue. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Company Publishers, 1979, pp. 222.

Within the last ten years, there have been an increasing number of books of readings on the social-psychological and counseling aspects of the American minorities. Many of these books of readings fall short, for they are merely collections of articles hurriedly thrown together without any perspective or framework from which to view them. Such is not the case for *Counseling American Minorities*. It is a well thought out and creative synthesis of readings, coupled with a conceptual framework.

The book's purpose is twofold: first, to provide the counselor with a selection of readings on four distinct minorities (Blacks, Hispanics, Native American Indians, and Asian Americans); and second, to critically examine the traditional counseling role, provide a new conceptual framework called the "Minority Identity Development Model," and offer suggestions for future training, practice and research.

As for the collection of readings, each particular racial/ethnic minority section has at least one article written from a historical-social perspective and one article written offering practical suggestions for counselors. At the end of each section is a list of cases and questions for classroom discussion.

The selection of readings is generally sound and varied except in the Asian American section, where most of the literature selected is by one author, Derald Wing Sue, and focuses on the Japanese- and Chinese-Americans. In light of the recent waves of Indochinese refugees coming into the U.S.A. (150,000 in 1975 and an accumulative total of 400,000 by 1980), this section is weak, failing to accommodate the new groups of Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, Hmongs, Thai Dam, and Chinese Vietnamese. Treatment of these new immigrants would be very different from present Asian American clients. Variables such as religion (many Indochinese are Buddhist), immigrant status, cultural background, etc., are more pronounced and influential for the recent newcomers than for the American-born Asian.

Since three of the four sections relate to language minorities (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, and Native American Indians), inclusion of at least one article on language, culture, and counseling would be helpful. This would focus on what are currently central issues in American public schools and society: desegregation and bilingual-bicultural education. The interface of desegregation, bilingual education, and counseling is especially important, since desegregation in public schools involves diffusing Black and non-Black students to achieve educational equity, and bilingual education involves maintaining "segregated" language minorities within a school setting for educational equity. Counseling issues and roles need to be discussed here since judicial decisions may pit one racial/ethnic minority (Blacks) against the other language minorities (Hispanics, Asians, and Native American Indians). Inclusion of these problems and issues as it relates to counseling would be helpful in the Cases and Questions section of the book.

As to the book's second purpose, parts 1 and 6 are devoted to counseling issues on a racial, ethnic, and cultural basis. Chapter one performs an important role of clarifying and differentiating concepts and terms, such as "race," "ethnicity," "culture" (culturally deprived, culturally disadvantaged), etc., all of which have been constant sources of confusion. The concepts of "culturally deprived and disadvantaged" warrant careful consideration by minority and non-minority professionals due to the typical negative aspects associated with these concepts. Chapter two articulates the major counseling issues in relation to counseling of minorities: the unfulfilled promise, and the major barriers. This chapter is especially effective, for it provides an excellent overview and perspective from which to view the collections of articles on the individual minorities.

The last two chapters do a good job of integrating the issues presented in the beginning chapters and the readings into a proposed Minority Identity Development Model. This model is the heart of the book. Viewed as a schema rather than a mini-theory of personality, the model presents five developmental stages minority people undergo in their struggle to understand themselves and the dominant culture. The model is well-conceptualized and written in a scholarly manner. Although validational studies are lacking, the model is presented in a heuristic style such that empirical studies could be easily generated.

The final chapter discusses and delineates future directions in counseling practice, possible expansion of the counselor role into outreach activity, ombudsman functions, change agentry, and indigenous support system facilitation. This chapter is not as well-conceptualized as the previous chapters. The authors suggest counselors consider expanding their roles into change agentry (i.e., changing the social environment of the

minority clientele). This is stated with minimal examination of the philosophical assumptions underlying counseling or any helping profession. If the role of the counselor is to facilitate client self-growth and self-directed problem solving, then isn't it inconsistent for the counselor actively to change the social environment *for* the client? Perhaps there should be an adoption of strategies which teach clients to change the social and institutional environments themselves, such as the Chan's "Role of advocacy in rehabilitation counseling: Implications and recommendations for training," (*Amicus*, 1979, 4, 5 & 6 253-261).

Human service professionals working with minority clients will view this book as a significant contribution to the fields of counseling and cross-cultural communication. It is an excellent low-cost, scholarly book with a wise selection of articles on the four major American minority groups, coupled with the Minority Identity Development Model which synthesizes the various sections.

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND PUBLIC POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES. By Raymond V. Padilla (Ed.). Ypsilanti, Michigan: Department of Foreign Languages and Bilingual Education, Eastern Michigan University, 1979.

This volume is a compilation of research-related presentations at two national forums in 1979. The contents of the presentations have relevance for a variety of populations who are directly or indirectly involved with bilingual education and/or issues related to the policy-making process. On one level, the contents present an overview of theoretical constructs and empirical research which has been or is currently being conducted in bilingual education. On another level, the reader gains insights into developmental and programmatic issues related to teacher preparation programs in the area of bilingual education (undergraduate and graduate), the role and function of state education associations, and the role of parent and community groups not only as active participants in the schooling of their children, but also as advocates and recipients of bilingual education public policy. The introduction and the ensuing chapters offers a "wholistic perspective" on the various facets of bilingual education. The reader is presented with a conceptual framework related to both the theoretical and pedagogical basis for bilingual education. The author makes it quite clear that there is critical need for research activities in bilingual education.

The introductory remarks provide an overview of the broad research needs in bilingual education public policy. It is pointed out that successful research must demonstrate an advance in the development of significant knowledge and understanding in the areas of theory, technology, and public policy. These areas are interrelated, and each plays an important role in bilingual education public policy. Too little theory-building and research has been done on linguistic and other aspects of bilingual education. In particular, issues of public policy have been neglected. The focus has been on student identification

and placement, program development and implementation, and training. The contents of this book help remedy that by enabling the reader to become familiar with a variety of political persuasions (i.e., public attitudes and values), as well as organizational theories which affect the success (or failure) of bilingual education.

Part I, "La Ley/The Law," examines aspects of state and federal litigation and legislation and gives an excellent account of judicial decisions which have supported the rights of access, equal protection and equal opportunity for language minority students (L.E.P.). Part II, "La Politica/Politics," examines the political implications of legislative measures, mass media, public policy, and programs for bilingual education. Part III, "La Communidad/The Community," presents a comprehensive analysis of the interaction between the school and the community in the formation of public policy and implementation of bilingual education programs. Part IV, "Modelos Y Problematica/Models and Issues," explores the areas of (a) student identification and participation, (b) teacher attitudes and the expectations of language minority students and (c) program models currently used. The data presented is not restricted to a particular language population but takes a multilingual/international perspective.

Padilla provides an excellent overview of the basic elements which must be examined if relevant outcomes in bilingual education policy are to be achieved.

CARLOS VALLEJO
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GESTURES: THEIR ORIGINS AND DISTRIBUTION. By Desmond Morris, Peter Collett, Peter Marsh, and Marie O'Shaughnessy. New York: Stein and Day, Publishers, 1979, pp. xxv + 296.

Human interaction, to a large extent, depends on the actions and movements of the participants. With or without sound, people are able to communicate moods, emotional states, ideas, and information. These nonverbal acts, and the responses they produce, are learned by each one of us as part of our cultural experience. Hence, any book that attempts to explain the specific link existing between these nonverbal messages and culture, deserves the attention of all students of intercultural communication. Desmond Morris, with the aid of three colleagues, has written just such a book.

Morris has long been intrigued with the fundamental nature of human behavior. In this book, he once again investigates his favorite subject—people, and their relationships. As already indicated, this new effort looks at body language and its relationship to culture. However, the potential reader should be alerted to the fact that this is not an ordinary book about nonverbal communication. Morris does not write ordinary books. As anyone who is familiar with his books *The Naked Ape* and *Manwatching* can attest, he has a penchant for taking on global issues. While most of us have to be content with specific and isolated variables or studies, Morris, for better or for worse, does not labor under the same constraints. In *Gestures* we have yet another Morris project that extends beyond traditional academic and research boundaries. The authors talk of the magnitude of this

undertaking when they write, "This is the first study to make a serious attempt to map the geographical distribution of human gestures. It is common knowledge that gestures do vary from culture to culture, but the precise nature of this regional variation has never previously been analyzed by means of an objective field study."

Specifically, this book reports the findings of that study. It is a study dealing with twenty key gestures as they were interpreted by 1,200 informants in 40 localities in 25 western and southern European and Mediterranean countries. The research methodology, although never fully explained, was quite straightforward. To begin with, all of the subjects in the study were male. Each subject was shown a sheet of paper that contained all of the 20 key gestures. They were then asked if the gestures were used locally and what each meant. Some of the gestures were the fingertip kiss, fingers crossed, thumbing the nose, the forearm jerk, the vertical hornsign, thumbs up, teeth flicking, the ear touch, and the nose tap. Each of the twenty gestures is dealt within a separate chapter of the book. Within each chapter the reader is given a brief description of the gesture, its origin and geographic distribution. The authors also offer many useful illustrations, photographs, maps, drawings, an extensive bibliography, and a few brief summary chapters that discuss other facets of gesturing such as beckoning and waving, gesture boundaries, gestural distance, and gesture confusion.

Though not scientifically rigorous, such a study does yield some interesting results and conclusions. Among hundreds of other things, the reader is told that in southern Italy and Yugoslavia touching the ear denotes jeering at effeminacy. The same gesture, to Greek children, warns of imminent punishment. It is regarded as a superlative in Portugal, as protection against the evil eye in Turkey, as a sign of skepticism in Scotland, and as a way to designate an informer in Malta.

This book, because it is written for the lay reader and because it reports the results of a study that was immense in its scope, is not without some serious methodological flaws. First, the exclusion of women from the study places limits on the generalizations that can be drawn. Women were excluded, the authors explain, because many of the gestures dealt with sexual taboos and women in some cultures would be reluctant to take part in an interview that focused on such taboos. Second, Morris and his colleagues made a somewhat arbitrary decision to study only those nonverbal messages associated with emblems. Even granting their importance to nonverbal communication, emblems seldom work in isolation, and are only one small part of the total interaction. Hence, once again the reader must be cautious when generalizing from the study.

The third defect of the project might well be the most serious. It centers on the issue of the reliability of the field researchers and interpreters. We are offered very little information regarding how they are trained or what they used for follow-up probes to the two original questions. Yet the authors indicated that each interview took approximately 40 minutes. One can't help but conclude that the interviewers were given a great deal of latitude. This freedom often contributes to some interesting examples, but it distracts from the quantitative impact of the study.

Fourth, because an interpreter had to be used, we also must be aware of the problems related to foreign language translation—vocabulary equivalence, idiomatic equivalence, grammatical-syntactical equivalence, and the like.

Finally, as it is in all studies that employ questionnaires, the researchers never know if the subject is being truthful or simply saying what the interviewer wants him to say. Morris touched on this problem when he wrote, "Some individuals were reluctant to appear ignorant of gestures and preferred to invent meaning for them." His resolution to this problem is handled by the following rather casual and simple explanation, "It was always obvious when this happened." The reader is never told how the interviewer knew this deception was taking place.

Though the methodology of the study might be weak, the book has a number of features that make recommending it an easy task. It is very readable, interesting, and usable. And while it is more anecdotal than experimental, students of intercultural communication will enjoy reading that "many of the gestures had several major meanings," and that "many of the gestures extended their ranges across national and linguistic boundaries." The book's greatest contribution lies in the fact that it leaves the reader realizing how much more there is to know about gestures and culture. We can only hope that this book will encourage others to investigate the subtle and manifest ways culture and nonverbal communication work in tandem.

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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION. By L. E. Sarbaugh. Rochelle Park, New Jersey: Hayden Book Company, 1979, pp. 148.

This book presents a systematic framework for understanding intercultural communication. Sarbaugh attempts to answer the recurring question in our field: What is the difference between *intra*cultural communication and *inter*cultural communication? He suggests the concept of participant homogeneity-heterogeneity as the main discriminating factor between the two types of communication. A major distinguishing feature of this book is the treatment of intracultural and intercultural communication as a continuum, with intracultural representing the homogeneous and intercultural the heterogeneous end of the spectrum.

The book uses a taxonomic approach for analyzing intercultural communication. It provides a system for positioning participants in communication events along the continuum of homogeneity-heterogeneity. It is suggested that the position determines the degree or level of interculturalness from which one can begin to develop generalizations that will pertain to events found to be on the same level.

The book consists of two parts. The first half of the book presents some basic assumptions underlying the taxonomic system developed in the book, the variables used in developing the system, the structure of the taxonomy, and some general propositions pertaining to the variables used in developing the taxonomy and related to the level of interculturalness. The second half of the book (Chapters 5-10) presents six communication situations representing different levels of interculturalness: (1) "The family and the rabbits—an intracultural transaction;" (2) "Separate environments, reduced homogeneity,

and ease of transaction;" (3) "The teacher and the drop-out—an intermediate case;" (4) "Wrong ticket, different language—a moderately hetrogeneous case;" (5) "The professor and the minority leaders—a case of heterogeneity reducing predictability" and (6) "The outsider learns to cope in a highly heterogenous setting." Each case is analyzed in terms of the taxonomic system presented in the first part of the book. The book concludes with some guidelines for the intercultural communicator.

The taxonomic system developed in this book is based on the following four sets of variables: (1) perceived relationship among the participants and perceived intent of the communicators, (2) code systems, including both verbal and nonverbal codes, (3) normative patterns of beliefs and overt behaviors, and (4) world view. Each of these variables includes two or three levels of homogeneity-heterogeneity. For instance, the second variable set, code system (CS), includes three levels of homogeneity-heterogeneity. The most homogeneous is CS_1 in which both participants in a communication transaction share the same code system. CS_2 is an intermediate level in which the participants share a common code (e.g., English), but one or both may have an additional code system (e.g., Hindi) which is not shared by the other. The most heterogeneous situation, CS_3, is where the participants do not have a common code system which they can use in an attempted transaction. These four sets of variables and their 2-3 levels of homogeneity-heterogeneity are used to generate 36 sets of communication situations which are rank ordered from most homogeneous to most heterogeneous. With this systematic pattern of combining variables, seven levels of interculturalness are identified from the 36 combinations. The author recognizes that many, many more combinations are possible if additional variables were used and if additional values were used for each of the variables. This would provide a greater variety of situations than have been presented in this book.

The book has many strong points. First, it presents a very systematic taxonomy for categorizing communication situations ranging from very homogeneous, intracultural transactions to highly heterogeneous, intercultural transactions. Thus the book is useful for analyzing and understanding both domestic and international types of intercultural situations. Second, the book includes many research questions which deserve careful study by communication scholars. Thus the book has a high heuristic value. Third, the cases presented in the second half of the book provide very useful illustrations of how the taxonomic system can be used for understanding and improving intercultural communication in real-life situations. Finally, the book provides useful exercises and questions for discussion.

The book also has certain shortcomings. It provides merely a taxonomic system for classifying and analyzing intercultural situations. It does not provide a synthesis of pertinent research evidence on the questions and ideas generated by the taxonomic system. There is also a readibility problem. The writing is quite terse and at times difficult to comprehend because of excessive use of jargon, subscripts, and symbols (e.g., $PRI_1CS_3KA_1WV_1$ is set No. 6 under Level 3). However, a careful reading of the technical terms, subscripts, and the logic underlying the taxonomic system makes it easier to follow the second half of the book. At times, the taxonomic system seems quite arbitrary in terms of the variables selected for the system and levels of homogeneity-heterogeneity used in developing the taxonomic system. There is very little rationale or empirical evidence to justify the taxonomic system and the generalizations presented in the book.

Overall, *Intercultural Communication* is a very useful contribution to the literature of the field. It can be used as textbook as well as a theoretical model for generating research questions and hypotheses. The taxonomic system developed by Sarbaugh is useful for researchers, teachers and practitioners of intercultural communication. This book brings us closer to our goal of a sound theory of intercultural communication.

NEMI C. JAIN
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INTERCULTURAL SOURCEBOOK: CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING METHODOLOGIES. By David S. Hoopes and Paul Ventura (Eds.). Washington, D.C.: Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research, 1979, pp. v + 183.

This book represents an effort to present to intercultural communication educators and trainers some of the more frequently used games, simulations, exercises and a variety of other approaches taken in the teaching of intercultural communication skills and concepts. While the intent is certainly meaningful, and various of the specific discussions useful for suggesting alternative approaches for teaching intercultural subject matter, the book fails to meet its specified objective of providing an integrative focus or conceptual framework for understanding how these various approaches relate systematically to intercultural communication theory. Specifically, what is needed in this book, as in many other games books, is more discussion of the connections between experiential learning activities and their underlying or associated conceptual underpinnings. Nonetheless, the book is an interesting compilation of learning activities. Specific chapter comments follow.

In Chapter I, three brief essays present a fairly standard exposition on role playing. This brief chapter would benefit from further discussion of the differences between "role-playing" and "role-plays." In Chapter II, five essays discuss several well-known and interesting simulation activities. Appropriately, the first essay presents an explanation of why simulation approaches were developed. The remaining chapters describe specific simulations and several of them are reputed to yield consistently high quality results. One notes particularly the Bafa Bafa game, used effectively and frequently in nonverbal and cross-cultural training. In Chapter III, an essay by Edward C. Stewart, Jack Danielson, and Robert J. Foster is a high quality effort to describe the conceptual assumptions underlying one approach toward simulations and role-playing. As such, the essay is atypical of most of the other essays appearing in this book and stands out as a useful contribution to the literature.

In Chapter IV, three brief essays describe cognitive approaches toward enhancing cross-cultural sensitivity and readiness. These approaches present workable approaches toward testing one's cognitive understanding and possibly affective appreciation of specified cross-cultural incidents. However, one might question whether these approaches are appropriate for meeting the more complex cognitive and psychomotor objectives also requisite to successful cross-cultural training. Some discussion of this matter would have been useful.

In Chapter V, two brief essays represent the only discussions in this book addressing measurement issues in cross-cultural training. In themselves they are insufficient to address the very real and telling problems regarding reliability and validity of self-assessments of cross-cultural communication competence. Nonetheless, they are suggestive of potentially useful approaches and warrant attentive reading.

Chapters VI-VIII include six essays discussing workbook, critical incident, and case study approaches toward cross-cultural training. These essays are specifically focused and explained with sufficient clarity to suggest probable success when implemented as described. In Chapter IX, we get a compilation of additional group exercises that could have just as easily been subsumed in one of the previous chapters. Chapter X has two brief essays which discuss the particular need to study cross-cultural training in specific cross-cultural contexts. These are valuable discussions, as they are suggestive of how we can accumulate reliable information about cross-cultural training in specific contexts, where the requisite skills may or may not be transportable to other contexts.

Taken together, the contents of this book represent a solid effort to present examples of most extant approaches taken in the teaching of cross-cultural communication. However, because of a lack of conceptual grounding and synthesis, one has difficulty appreciating under what circumstances various of these approaches are preferable to others or how they relate to theoretic discussions of cross-cultural communication. It is not being claimed here that it is not possible to extract this synthesis from the essays, but rather that in the book's present form, there is little explicit attempt to present this much-needed synthesis. Lastly, as previously mentioned, one is disappointed that no more serious effort was made to discuss the measurement issues involved in assessing successfulness of cross-cultural training.

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MANAGING CULTURAL DIFFERENCES. By Philip R. Harris and Robert T. Moran. Houston, TX: Gulf Publishing Company, 1979, xiv + 418 pp.

In reviewing any book I believe the reviewer should try to evaluate it vis-a-vis the objectives the author(s) had in mind when writing it. Given this criterion, I found *Managing Cultural Differences* difficult to review. The major impediment to an easy review is that the exact purpose and audience for the book are never clearly defined by its authors (there is no preface to the reader). After a careful reading the nearest to a statement of purpose that I can find is when the authors state: "For a successful transition to the twenty-first century, which is the thesis to this book, we should all become more cosmopolitan human beings, especially if one is in a leadership position" (p. 1). More specific objectives can be drawn from the publisher's promotional material appearing on the back cover which states that the book is "the most complete and practical information source you can buy on a subject that is essential to everyone's professional education—cross-cultural training . . . . This book provides an enlightening, yet

comprehensive, examination of how cultural backgrounds influence people's perceptions, communication, behavior and decision-making." The target audience appears to be managers working in an intercultural context, although the book could also be seen as supplementary reading for trainees in a training program or for students in an intercultural communication course.

The book is organized into four units. The first unit, "The Emerging Role of the Multinational Manager," contains four chapters focusing upon the manager. This is followed by a unit titled "Cultural Impact of International Management" which is comprised of four chapters which center on culture. The third unit, "Organizational Responsibilities and Cultural Differences," incorporates four chapters dealing with cross-cultural training and foreign deployment. The final unit, "Cultural Specifics for Management Effectiveness," focuses upon specific information for doing business in different cultures and is the longest in the book (eight chapters).

One of the first things which strikes the reader is a lack of introductions to the four parts of the book (which would ideally answer the questions of what the chapters in the unit have in common, why they were placed in the order they were, and how the unit ties into the theme of the book) and transitions/linkages between chapters. In a book dealing with a single subject this may not be problematic, but when the authors are discussing the diverse topics of management, communication, culture and training, integrative introductions and transitions are absolutely necessary.

As indicated above, the book deals with material drawn from the study of management, communication, culture, and cross-cultural training. If these four areas were integrated into a theoretical/conceptual whole, it would be a major strength of the book and a major contribution to the literature. However, it does not accomplish this feat. In fact one of the most significant shortcomings I find in it is the lack of an organizing perspective. The book is not based upon management theory, communication theory or an articulated theory of culture. I'm not suggesting that it does not cover these topics, because it does. Rather, I'm suggesting that it does not take any one of these areas as central and use it as an organizing scheme.

Space does not permit me to discuss at length all of the shortcomings I find in the book. Nonetheless, I do want to point out a few specifics. First, I am opposed to the use of the term "American" to refer to U. S. nationals. To the authors credit they do point out in a footnote at the bottom of page 12 how they are using the term and that it also can refer to people from Canada and South America. I also object to the use of the term "man" in the discussion of value orientations. My objection to both of these terms lies in the fact that if one of the book's objectives is to help people become more cosmopolitan, then it should also help the reader learn to use language that can not be misinterpreted as ethnocentric and/or sexist. The authors attempt to be nonsexist in their use of pronouns; they should do the same with respect to other terms in the text.

It should also be noted that while the book is aimed at helping people, especially managers, become more cosmopolitan, there is little specific discussion of this concept. The book does not draw upon nor discuss the work of the major writers on the subject as one would expect (e.g., there is no discussion or reference citation to John Walsh's book *Intercultural Education in the Community of Man* or Peter Adler's article "Beyond Cultural Identity").

Another specific concern that I have is with respect to the presentation of culture-specific information in the final unit. For one thing, there is a striking unevenness in the material presented. In one chapter only critical incidents and material from a culture assimilator are presented, while in other chapters lists of dos and don'ts appear, and in still others history, geography, family structure, etc., are given. Again, what is missing is an organizing framework for the type of material presented. I am also concerned with the lists of dos and don'ts. I agree with James Downs when he argued that "It would be impossible to prepare a list of dos and don'ts long enough to cover all possible situations, even more impossible for a trainee to remember it if you did. However, such an approach is not necessary and really only reveals a failure to understand the culture concept" (*Trends*, 1969, Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 13). If a reader finds that some of the dos and don'ts are untrue, he/she may discard the other important material presented in the book as also untrue.

It is no surprise that the best section of the book is the unit which deals with cross-cultural training. This is not a surprise because Philip Harris and Bob Moran have been leaders in advancing cross-cultural training throughout the past decade. This unit is the second most thorough discussion of cross-cultural training of which I am aware, not the "most complete" as the publishers claim (I would contend that Richard Brislin and Paul Pedersen's 1976 *Cross-Cultural Orientation Programs* is the most complete; which, by the way, is omitted from Harris and Moran's bibliography). Like Brislin and Pedersen, however, the Harris and Moran discussion of cross-cultural training lacks an underlying conceptual framework for classifying the different methods of training presented. The unit discusses the whys, whats, whens, and hows of cross-cultural training and presents most of the major techniques in use. In addition, there are good chapters on preparation of families and foreign deployment.

Although my comments above have centered on what I see as the shortcomings of *Managing Cultural Differences*, I do *not* mean them as an indictment of the authors of the current volume. Rather, my criticisms are better taken as a commentary on the state-of-the-art in the area in intercultural management. Harris and Moran have broken new ground with this book and ultimately their work must be evaluated with this in mind. If used in conjunction with the presentation of an organizing framework or model it can be very useful as a text or supplementary reading. Many will also find it useful as a reference. I purchased it shortly after it came out and find it one of the books I refer to most often in preparing lectures and training sessions. In conclusion, even with its shortcomings, it is worthy of a place on your bookshelf.

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: A CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING APPROACH. By Margaret D. Pusch (Ed.). Chicago, Illinois: Intercultural Press, Inc., 1979, pp. viii + 276.

Multicultural Education is a manual for practitioners in intercultural communication and faculty in teacher education programs. This volume is a balanced blending of theory

and practice. Chapter 1 provides an extremely useful definition of terms. Chapter 2 discusses concepts related to the theories of intercultural communication, including perception, cultural self-awareness, learning, culture shock, the communication process, and cultural assumptions and values. Chapters 3 and 4 provide an introduction to the growth, development, and curriculum in multicultural education. Topics discussed include the trend toward accommodating cultural pluralism, the legal and legislative conceptualization of multiculturalism and their policy implications for education in the United States. Chapter 4 focuses directly on curriculum, both in terms of cultural learning as a process and the incorporation of cultural perspectives in the content areas. Chapters 5 and 6 present a compendium of training strategies for facilitating multicultural education competencies. Chapter 5 discusses methods of teacher training and cross-cultural training. Chapter 6 presents some 30 activities classified according to topic and method. The final chapter provides a detailed overview of evaluation procedures for cross-cultural training and education. Discussed are basic evaluation components, the content of cross-cultural training and education. Introduced are basic measurement strategies including check lists, scaling devices, a variety of question types, and case studies. The final segment discusses interpretation of the findings and urges the reader to exercise caution. This volume concludes with a selected annotated bibliography of print and non-print resources.

This volume provides a comprehensive overview of multicultural education. Particularly useful are the discussions of the policy aspects of cultural pluralism including the implications of court decisions likd Lau vs Nichols and federal education legislation. This discussion, combined with a very insightful treatment of language diversity, provides a solid foundation for the discussion of curriculum and training strategies which follow. It is this historical overview and rationale which contributes to the volume's significance and utility as a resource.

In general, the compendium of exercises presents the reader with practical activities for cultural training. Most of the material has been collected from other sources and the editor has selected those which have proven successful. Of particular utility is the clear classification of the exercises into content categories (perception, cultural self-awareness, values, and communication), and methodologies (simulations, role plays, case studies/critical incidents, and force field analysis). The organizational format facilitates easy access and sequencing. A major disappointment of this volume is the lack of innovation in the training exercises. To the person being introduced to the intercultural field, this criticism has little significance, but to those familiar with the field, there is little material that is not quite familiar. The contribution then lies in the organization and careful selection of proven strategies.

Perhaps the greatest value of this volume lies in the chapter on evaluation by George Renwick. It is the description of the rationale and strategies for evaluating the process associated with fostering "understanding, acceptance, and effective interaction among people of many different cultures." Renwick details a perspective on the evaluation process including who does it, who uses it, and how to do it. The author reviews many current techniques which may be used to evaluate the competencies discussed earlier in the volume. This section can be classified as an orientation to evaluation, for it introduces the reader to a *pot pourri* of procedures. This strategy has some positive and negative

implications. On the positive side, the reader becomes acquainted with the state-of-the-art of cross-cultural training evaluation. On the other hand, it is difficult to construct a codified evaluation instrument from the information presented. This concern is particularly problematic for those not expert in evaluation and measurement processes. (This evaluation chapter has also been published as a separate book.)

As for an overall evaluation of this volume, its value lies in its integrated approach to the issue of multicultural education. It combines a balance of theory and practice, provides historical context and finally offers us with an evaluation framework. The presence of all this information in one volume which is effectively organized should contribute to *Multicultural Education's* usefulness as a resource.

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SCHOOLING FOR A GLOBAL AGE. By James M. Becker. New York: McGraw Hill, 1979, pp. 345.

Global education—the teaching of individuals to think for and of themselves as participants in a world community—is examined in this volume from many perspectives with the implicit intent of persuading educators to move with the utmost speed to develop and implement full fledged programs in schools.

The Anderson and Anderson chapter entitled, "A Visit to Middleston's World-Centered Schools: A Scenario," provides a description of a global education program in the schools of the fictional community of Middleston. The authors outline the broader aspects of an ideal global education program which may be used as a general guide for planning such programs. However, the chapter falls far short of identifying the many specifics needed for most people to proceed from where they now are to obtain the ideals described. In their presentation of the curriculum components and goals of the ideal program, the Andersons have assumed that educators have the skills and opportunities to completely restructure their current curricula to implement this necessary global program. They further assume teachers have the skills to make certain types of activities work in global education programs that teachers were/are unable to make work in their existing programs.

The most exciting and interesting chapter is Judith Torney's, "Psychological and Institutional Obstacles to the Global Perspective in Education." Four types of psychological obstacles to the attainment of a global perspective are clearly delineated and described, including the ways each affects individual perceptions and behaviors. All too often education programs are advocated without consideration of the psychological factors which must be affected if the program is to "educate" children in the direction posited by the goals and objectives of the program. Torney looks at four major individual-centered areas which must all be substantially affected and modified so that the global community perspective being advocated can succeed. However, since each area is controlled and operationalized by the individual him/herself, the teacher is made aware that to be successful, the curriculum must provide students opportunities to go beyond awareness-centered activities and to engage in experiences which will significantly shape their beliefs, attitudes, self-perceptions and personal communication skills. In effect, programs which

do not shape these variables cannot succeed.

This volume is well worth the effort for those unfamiliar with global education and for those who are seeking some guidance for developing programs in this area. While the selections purport to present arguments both for and against specific changes advocated by supporters of a global perspective, heavy emphasis is placed on the need and benefits of this perspective—and for programs which educate for it. In more than one way, the book reflects an advocacy position on this issue without providing the clear-cut strategies and methods to achieve effectively the goals it so convincingly supports.

For those who are already sold on the idea of having individuals possess a global community perspective and are looking for specific ways to "educate" others, this book, with the exception of Torney's chapter, will be a disappointment. It outlines goals, ideals, rationales, and objectives rather than describing practical ways of achieving them. But for those seeking a global perspective on global education, this volume is a must.

ROBERT J. STAHL
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SURVIVAL KIT FOR OVERSEAS LIVING. By L. Robert Kohls. Chicago: Intercultural Press, Inc., 1979, pp. viii + 88.

This book is well written and is particularly important because it is so short and yet includes most of the truly necessary and helpful pieces of information one needs for travel abroad. Not only would it be an invaluable asset for use in a training program for people going abroad to work or for play, it could be read en route and still be of great benefit.

Robert Kohls has included such topics as American stereotypes, culture, comparing and contrasting cultures, setting travel objectives, becoming a foreigner, knowing your host country, speaking the language, a prescription for culture shock, skills that make a difference, and a challenge to foreign travelers. The subject matter is presented in a nuts-and-bolts, down-to-earth manner. The reader is encouraged to do exercises which are designed to raise their consciousness and better equip them to deal with life in a new culture.

Throughout the book Kohls has left space to write reactions and to answer questions which are designed to aid in the education process. The format is rather like a pretest, posttest. The reader is asked to share feelings and attitudes before reading a particular section. They are then asked to respond in the same manner after reading the section. This seems a particularly valuable method of cultural training because it is difficult to know or remember one's initial feelings after the education process has occurred. Once we know a thing it is difficult to remember not knowing it.

An area which the author seems to have given minimal treatment is the problem of food in a foreign country. For many people this may not be a problem, but for most of us it is a real consideration and a few words of advice would have been useful.

The brief treatment of intercultural travel may lead one to believe the experience will be simple if only they have read this little volume. This is seldom true. Obviously travel in foreign countries may be exciting and rewarding, it may also be frustrating and perplexing. Although this book is a good step in the direction of awareness, it does not contain all the answers and should not be read with such an attitude.

Kohls' book is delightful and satisfying reading, and I can recommend it as a needed addition to the field of intercultural communication.

LARA COLLINS WITT
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TOWARD INTERNATIONALISM: READINGS IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION. By Elise C. Smith and Louise Fiber Luce (Eds.). Rowley, Ma.: Newbury House, 1979, pp. xiv + 225.

This volume is a collection of fourteen articles by leading authorities in various aspects of intercultural communication. Designed for the nonspecialist U.S. reader, it focuses on the "substance, rather than the theory, of cross-cultural interaction between Americans and nationals from Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa."

Editors Smith and Luce have made the content sufficiently accessible to serve as an introductory college or graduate text, yet stimulating enough to benefit those already involved in the field. Part of the success of this volume lies in its diversity and balance. The contributors represent a cross-section of researchers, theoreticians, and practitioners involved in business, government, and academic fields.

The collection begins, appropriately, with an exercise in cultural self-awareness. This article, by Edward C. Stewart, discusses key "American" values which influence U.S. communication patterns. Next follows a study of the concept of self in Thailand; Kalvero Oberg's well-known analysis of culture shock, and an examination by Robert G. Hanvey of techniques for building cross-cultural awareness.

Two readings— by Raymond L. Gorden and Lawrence Stessin—illustrate how misread culture cues can influence the success of Americans abroad. Lorand B. Szalay and Glen H. Fisher investigate the effects of culture on the meaning of words, using a Korean/American comparison. This study is marred slightly by its failure to include details about the time frame, environment, and controls used.

Dean C. Barnlund discusses self-disclosure patterns of Japanese and American college students; John C. Condon and Fathi Yousef explore the use of home space in the East and the West; Edward T. Hall discusses the proxemic patterns of Americans, French, Germans, and English; and Melvin Schnapper discusses nonverbal communication failures in the Peace Corps in Africa.

An article by Daniel Lerner examines how thinking patterns of the French caused

interviewers to change the ways they interviewed Frenchmen. Horace M. Miner demonstrates how an alternate frame of reference could completely change the "interpretation" of our culture. Finally, a selection from an extensive study by the Asia Society discusses the degree to which Western bias and the stereotyping of Asian peoples occurs in U.S. textbooks.

By drawing on an extensive body of existing articles published over the last twenty-five years, the editors have been able to select their material very carefully. The result is a collection of materials which is balanced and pleasing to read. The reader who pursues these articles in sequence will experience an unfolding of related subjects and, sometimes, almost a "dialogue" between the contributors.

The first three pages of the volume provide helpful biographies of the sixteen authors. This will be especially useful to new students in the field. This spirit of helpfulness also extends to the "Contents," which include a one-sentence preview to each of the articles.

All in all, this is a fine, well compiled, and well edited volume, which is highly recommended to the individual reader or for use in the college classroom.

DOUGLAS S. JARDINE
Arizona State University

ETHNIC AND RACIAL GROUPS: THE DYNAMICS OF DOMINANCE. By Richard M. Burkey. Menlo Park, California: Cummings Publishing Company, 1978, pp. 510.

This book is a well designed text for undergraduate collegiate courses in racial and ethnic relations. There are two major parts. The five chapters in the first part consider concepts and processes generally employed in researching and analyzing intergroup relations. This includes the basic ethnic and racial group units, various stratifications, and cultural and other analytic models, as well as an historical cross-cultural evaluation of the origins and maintenance of ethnic and racial dominance. The first part concludes with a focus on social movements and other processes which can result in the reduction or termination of dominance.

The eight chapters in the second part are designed to employ the concepts introduced earlier in interpreting patterns of ethnic and racial dominance in the United States. The first four chapters in this part are of an historical nature beginning with a discussion of the ethnic mix of Colonial America and proceeding up to a description of the manner in which dominant-subordinant ethnic patterns were maintained at the end of World War II. Burkey considers the conditions precipitated by World War II as the point in time when minority groups began to develop the social movements and take related actions that have brought us to the contemporary state of intergroup conflict and accommodation. In the final four chapters these latter developments are taken up.

The book has a number of strengths. The conceptual approach, combined with historical and sociological material, is appealing for text purposes. The narrative is

readable with generally good supportive documentation. The comprehensive bibliography followed by separate author and subject indexes makes for ease of use and is handy for students assigned to prepare a research report who want some initial research literature.

There are some problems of omission and commission. The former is inherent in any text, given space limitations. Still, the author's major effort to deal with emergent issues will lead many sociologists to wish that there had been some inclusion of the Wilson-Willie kind of exchange on the saliency of race or class in determining the future of racial and ethnic relations. On the commission side, Burkey chose to advance in the last few pages a strong negative opinion on affirmative action policies respecting racial minorities and women. Sowell is quoted to the effect that affirmative action programs have done little or nothing to advance the position of minorities or women. Earlier treatment of affirmative action provides definitions and describes practices, but at no point does Burkey offer educational, occupational, political or other evidence to support his strongly negative opinion on affirmative action. This is unfortunate since this topic is indeed an important intergroup issue which calls for more substantial treatment of the pros and cons than is provided.

Short of the end opinion, Burkey has written what appears to be a balanced and readable text.

LEONARD GORDON
Arizona State University

THE WORLD'S STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES: A REVIEW AND EVALUATION OF RESEARCH ON FOREIGN STUDENTS. By Seth Spaulding and Michael J. Flack, with Sean Tate, Penelope Mahon and Catherine Marshall. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976, pp. xxi + 520.

Authors Seth Spaulding and Michael Flack, with Sean Tate, Penelope Mahon and Catherine Marshall, have collected a wide range of literature pertaining to research on foreign students conducted since 1967. The result is an astoundingly comprehensive volume which deserves a solid place in the library of anyone having an interest in international educational exchange.

Each year, millions of young men and women leave their homeland to continue their education in academic and technical fields. The largest group of students come to the United States, which has more than half of the world's universities and colleges. This represents a considerable investment on the part of foreign students as well as of the host country, and universities with large foreign student enrollments do indeed assume a major additional responsibility. Not surprisingly, then, the motivation for research on foreign students in the U.S. is basically to investigate how well the process of international education functions, and how useful the results are to students, sponsors and universities.

This volume consists of seven chapters, one introductory and six dealing with findings in different areas of research. The appendix lists a table of working hypotheses; an

extensive annotated bibliography with 543 references concludes the volume.

The introductory chapter gives general background information and defines the task to be accomplished in this volume, which is a response to a request for a Research Study on "Foreign Students in the U.S." by the U.S. Department of State.

In the second chapter, "What Happens to Foreign Students While in the United States," research is discussed which focuses on the attitudes and achievements of foreign students. A major part of the research on international education addresses itself to this question; consequently, this chapter forms the core of the whole book.

Research on foreign students is characterized by a wide range of topics and a great variety of interests, quality and depth of study. Therefore, a summary of findings in this area necessarily is of a rather general nature. Two points, however, deserve special mention. First, while it is often assumed that foreign students are quite susceptible to American influences, it appears that noticeable changes are of a superficial or temporary nature, whereas deep-seated attitudes and educational goals are shown to be fairly resistant to change. Secondly, from the reported findings it emerges that the existence of co-national groups on campus is an important element which helps to counterbalance the sense of loneliness and exclusion foreign students often feel. This agrees well with the observations of many foreign student advisers who find that even though foreign students often claim that one of their main goals is to get to know and to establish friendships with American students, in actuality they secure emotional stability and find support by associating with their own countrymen.

The major second group of research projects considers the validity of various tests in predicting academic success. Admission personnel will be pleased to have confirmed that English Language tests, in particular the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), prove to be fairly accurate predictors of scholastic achievement.

In "Structure, Administration and Finance," the literature reviewed encompasses the responses of institutions to the needs of foreign students. One major group of studies deals with admission and academic policies of institutions, the other with the functions and effectiveness of foreign student advisers. There is a repeated emphasis on the need for an institutional and even national rationale for the presence of foreign students.

The principal conclusion in "New Approaches to Technical Cooperation in the Preparation of Human Resources for Development" is that while some universities have embarked on technical training programs, the impact of such efforts has on the whole been peripheral.

"Migration of Talent and Skills" addresses itself to the question of Brain Drain, while "Foreign and International Organizational Research" summarizes literature from outside the U.S. These findings complement and corroborate those discussed in the previous chapters in many ways; they too are characterized by a considerable variation in quality.

The final chapter "Overview, Findings, and Recommendations" offers a useful summary of the type of research collected, methods and theoretical frameworks used, and topics covered. It also presents an overview of the major findings.

This book was published in 1976 and the research included does not go beyond 1974-75.

For this reason, a current student in international education cannot rely on this book alone when examining research on foreign students. Apart from this limitation, however, the amount and diversity of information included will guarantee its usefulness for many years.

SUZANNE STEADMAN
Arizona State University

THE GENTLE TASADAY: A STONE AGE PEOPLE IN THE PHILIPPINE RAIN FOREST. By John Nance. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975, pp. xvi + 465.

On June 4, 1971, representatives of modern society met a tribe of cave-dwelling, non-violent, food gatherers called the Tasaday (pronounced Taw-saw-dai) on the edge of southern Mindanao's mountainous rain forest near the primitive settlement of Manubo Blit. The contact with a tribe of stone age people to whom agriculture was unknown and metal tools nonexistent was greeted by the world in a frenzy of interest resulting in two major documentaries, several anthropological and linguistic studies, and successful efforts to protect the Tasaday rain forest from outside contact. The significance of meeting humans in a seemingly uncontaminated "state of nature" stimulated much initial interest, but details of the Tasaday's first encounters with the outside world were difficult to obtain for some time.

The Gentle Tasaday, by former Associated Press Bureau Chief John Nance is a record of the Tasaday's discovery and their first three years of contact with the contemporary world. Although not a textbook or scholarly monograph, its extensive detail and transcriptions of Tasaday conversations during this stressful time period invite attention by communication scholars. Perhaps because the book came out after the initial flurry of popular excitement about the Tasaday, it has not received widespread prominence or recognition. Indeed, the work remains largely overlooked in the field despite its potential as a fascinating case study and as a source of invaluable reporting on the Tasaday's first modern intercultural communication experiences.

Although not a professional scholar, Nance approaches his reporting with attention to detail which academics should find gratifying. The book consists of twenty-four chapters divided into four sections, an appendix on historical facts about the Philippines, an index, a foreword by Charles Lindbergh, who was actively involved in the early visits to the Tasaday caves, and a full set of photographs. The first section, "At the Edge of the Forest," consists of five chapters detailing first communication with the Tasaday, initial contacts on the edge of the dense rain forest, and early efforts by the Panamin Foundation to protect the Tasaday from outside influences. Scholars will not be surprised that communication difficulties constituted many, if not most, of the problems faced during initial meetings with the Tasaday. Nervously gathered near a field beside the rain forest, the Tasaday naturally were apprehensive at the thunderous approach of a helicopter containing Manuel Elizalde of the Panamin Foundation and anthropologist Robert Fox.

Once coaxed out of the bush onto the plain, exchanging messages proved exceptionally difficult since the Tasaday spoke their own language which bore only a slight resemblance to Tboli, Blit, and various Manubo dialects. Furthermore, communication proved troublesome since the Tasaday had no words for moon, boat, ocean, sea, tobacco, potato, or rice (they had never seen them), no words for weapon, enemy, war, murder, punish, or kill (their culture seemed to be a genuinely peaceful one), no words for flatlands (calling the plain "the land without up and down" or "where the eye looks too far"), and not even a word for 'bad.' Nance leaves most interpretation to the reader but his reports combine to support the notion of the Tasaday as truly gentle people. At the second meeting bolo knives were placed on the ground before the Tasaday men as an offering. Each man took a knife but one knife remained unclaimed. The Tasaday refused to take the extra knife explaining that they all had one—the idea of storing a knife or owning more than was necessary was unknown to them, just as greed and envy apparently were unknown to them as well.

The second section of the book, "Inside the Forest," contains ten chapters describing visits of various groups to the Tasaday caves, criticisms directed toward Panamin's protection efforts, the Tasaday's growing dependence on the outside world for food and tools, and an attack by outlaw gunmen who wanted to "get a taste of the Tasaday." Intercultural communication scholars should find particularly useful two chapters devoted to presentations of complete transcriptions of Tasaday conversations in their caves. These transcripts provide a rich information source about the ordeal of adapting to a new culture and age. Researchers may find the transcripts suitable for content analyses and theory application.

The third section of the volume deals with "Deepening Contact" with the Tasaday and includes eight chapters explaining the development of personal attachments between the Tasaday and their visitors, the filming of a documentary, the birth of a child into the tribe, and the startling suggestion that other stone age tribes, the Tasafeng and the Sanduka, may live in the rain forest. The final section, "Full Circle," reports on the successful establishment of a Tasaday reserve and the steps taken to protect the rain forest from commercial development. To the student of intercultural communication, the last two sections of the book carry less information that is new than the first two sections.

Although *The Gentle Tasaday* probably deserves consideration by students of intercultural communication, it should be noted that three aspects of the book limit its casual use. First, since the effort is not in textbook form it may prove difficult to use in all but seminar courses since examples of events are presented in detail, but Nance carefully avoids attaching his own interpretation of their significance, although he references many others who are willing to make such assessments. Scholars using this book must supplement it with perspectives and theories from outside since such interpretations will not be found in Nance's reporting. Second, since the book is written in strict chronological order, from the 1971 discovery through the 1974 protective legislation, the book does not organize the account into central topics or concerns which may be of interest to scholars. Those interested in language influences on intercultural communication patterns, for instance, will have to look in no fewer than seventeen different locations for information. Third, some scholars might find Nance's fascination for personalities and people in the story a bit distracting.

In sum, this book is worth a second look by students of intercultural communication. Despite any difficulties one might have using the account for instructional purposes, it remains the most complete book on the subject and warrants the attention of scholars.

JOHN C. REINARD
Arizona State University

THE CULTURAL EXPERIENCE: ETHNOGRAPHY IN COMPLEX SOCIETY. By James P. Spradley and David W. McCurdy. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1972, pp. v + 246.

The authors have successfully created a textbook that will help teachers and students of intercultural relationships to link theory to practice. From a pedagogic viewpoint, this book offers an engaging series of ethnographic studies by undergraduate students who apply surprisingly sophisticated research methods to rather complex human paradigms. Working as novice cultural anthropologists, the students explore such varied "cultures" as a jewelry store, a junior high school, a third grade class, a car theft ring, and a group of fire fighters. The quality of their respective efforts is surprisingly rich and pleasantly creative.

The project by Janet Davis, entitled "Teachers, Kids and Conflict: enthnography of a junior high school," offers a useful example of the kind of project generated from Spradley and McCurdy's guidelines. Her paper begins by stipulating her conceptual foundation (she defines culture as "the forms of things people have in their minds" after Goodenough's work in cultural anthropology and linguistics). She then details her field methods and justifies her selection of the "cultural informants"— eighth-grade girls. When the actual cultural scene is described, she creates a series of detailed typologies. The first focuses on the people in the scene with each category being broken down into sub-categories. Faculty, Subs, School Nurse, Cleanup men, and kids were identified (the clean up men were deemed to include janitors and a dirty towel man). Similar taxonomies describe the things teachers do and the things kids do. In the conclusion, however, the study proved to be quite shallow because the informants could neither agree upon the causes for the felt conflict in their school nor upon any solutions which would "improve their chance at learning." Nevertheless, it is interesting to see the taxonomy of things teachers do and to discover that there are 29 specific ways for a teacher to "pick on a kid" according to these eighth-grade informants.

Since the notions of intercultural and international communication research often stimulate forbidding images of complex and expensive projects for our students, this book deserves mention as a useful counterpoint. It tends to vitalize theory and research by encouraging students to realize that segments within their own culture, what the authors term "cultural scenes," are fully as complex as the cultures of persons linked together with foreign languages, lands, and religions. Moreover, the examples offered up by the students' projects provide clear evidence that modest learning activities can be substantial analogies for the more grandiose projects of the accomplished professional.

The authors establish a methodological foundation for the student projects in the first four chapters of the book (pp. 1-77). They present arguments for the value of field work and the concerns professionals have with devising methodologies which enable ethnographers to attain reasonable levels of validity and reliability in field work. In general, however, the surface treatment given these issues precludes this book from making a valuable contribution to the methodology in cultural anthropology or any related area of scholarship.

The most valuable component is contained in chapter 5 (pp. 79-239), which contains summaries of the students' field projects. The twelve projects included here are both substantive and interesting and would clearly serve as good examples for both undergraduate and graduate students of intercultural communication. Though the focus is not upon persons interacting over messages, they stimulate thought about the pedagogic potential for field research projects in communication.

The authors justify this entire project with a simple statement of belief: "We began to feel more certain that learning about culture was akin to learning to drive or swim. These skills require involvement and participation. We came to believe that the first-hand experience of investigating alternate life styles had the same kind of instructional value." To the extent that you share this pedagogic view with Spradley & McCurdy, you should find this book to be a rich demonstration of the value to be derived from simplified field research projects.

JOHN E. CRAWFORD
Arizona State University

INTERCULTURAL THEORY AND PRACTICE: PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND RESEARCH. By William G. Davey (Ed.). Washington, D.C.: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1979, pp. vi + 261.

This book captures the essence of the 1978 Conference of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (SIETAR). By wise selection and placement of manuscripts, the editor makes it possible for those of us who were there to remember it with pleasure and for all others to benefit from these proceedings.

The first third of the book is devoted to intercultural communication research. Alfred Smith attracts interest immediately by suggesting ten current needs and future directions, including less research emphasis on remedies and personal perceptions and more on the mass of communication events. Edward Stewart follows with convincing proof that "the objectivity of behaviorism has entered its times of troubles" and urges a reconceptualization of intercultural communication research. William Starosta urges the same in his warning of the prevalence of cultural bias. Richard Brislin provides an analysis of prejudice as an example of untapped but relevant topic areas and Larry Samovar asks eight broad questions that should keep researchers busy for a long time. He and Robert Shuter agree that more research is already available than most people realize due to the

amorphous nature of the field but not much deals directly with the communication process itself. Four additional manuscripts suggest specific research methods including myth, folkloric, linguistic and strategic analysis. In all, it is a substantive section, worthy of serious perusal.

Keynote presentations comprise the second section highlighted by Wilbur T. Blume from the Department of State who reviews the conflict between the U.S. and most of the rest of the world regarding information flow. With no "first amendment" to uphold, votes of other countries regarding government involvement in media put the U.S. definitely in the minority. In one case involving direct broadcast satellites, the U.S. was out-voted 102 to 1. He sides with Stewart and others by calling for "anticipatory research" and says managers must now be "strategists" able also to use conscious, creative and nonlogical forms of thinking.

The other three keynote manuscripts are dated but real teasers with such strong implications for intercultural communication specialists that they are likely to encourage readers to check on the current status. Harold Bradley reports on the then pending Humphrey Legislation on International Development, seven authorities representing government and private granting agencies give sound advice and Dr. Jore Bustamante from the Colegio de Mexico draws a clear picture of the volume and impact of Mexican undocumented immigration on the U.S. and Mexican economies. He dispells prejudicial myths and calls for international cooperation to keep order and peace along the 2,000 mile border.

The third section consists of forty short overviews of selected conference programs. A reading of just the titles and authors gives an interesting look at the scope of the field and a resource list of who is interested in what. A surprising amount of information is contained in the short summaries. Included are a brainstormed list of research and material development needs of trainers (graduate students take note), methodologies for second-language teaching, discussions of experiential learning plus a list of simulation exercises and intercultural communication problems in the physical and mental health professions. There is advice for intercultural and journal writers, a rationale for using the term "culture" rather then "race," descriptions of workshops and programs dealing with preparation for overseas assignments and re-entry and concerns of Chicanos and minorities in the southwest. You will also learn that the intercultural field itself could be dominated by mainstream U.S. values (optimism, faith in progress, practicality, scientism, informality—*the* list goes on).

Most interesting to this reviewer was a description of the Cultural Literacy Laboratory at the University of Arizona and Anand K. Dyal Chand's blueprint for educating the international corporation child—a proposed education program, K-12, that would be culturally heterogenous, stressing the interdependency of nations and cultures. The possibility of this coming to fruition with the purpose of producing "third culture" individuals to function as mediators between respective societies seems dim in view of the expressed organizational considerations. Still, it is the type of forward-looking challenge that Blume called for in his keynote address: ". . . a kind of architectural thinking, a visionary approach based on knowledge, which can anticipate the difficulties and create solutions in advance of the problems."

As you can see, this book contains something for everyone.

LARAY M. BARNA
Portland State University

COMMUNICATION IN THE RURAL THIRD WORLD: THE ROLE OF INFORMATION IN DEVELOPMENT. By Emile G. McAnany (Ed.). New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980.

This could be an important book. It is not revolutionary, perhaps not even innovative. But it may, depending upon future developments, become a milestone along a route which has at times seemed straight and clear but has often been fraught with curves, detours, potholes, reverse turns, and even apparent dead ends. McAnany has gathered and organized—quote skillfully, one must say some writings which articulate, illustrate and prescribe some relatively new approaches to communication and development. If in time these prove to be more successful than earlier attempts, the book could reach the stature of the definitive works of Lerner, Rogers, Pye and Schramm.

The book is divided into three parts: Part I deals generally with the role of information in development, particularly as it affects the rural poor. Part II presents case studies of situations where there are "structural constraints," and Part III provides some insights into the evaluation of education/communications technology (ECT) systems and programs through economic analysis.

In the introductory chapter, McAnany cites the differences between the current approach and those of earlier eras, which began with an aura of optimism and ended in disillusionment. Lerner (1958) represented the relationship between communication and modernization as coincidental and automatic. Modernization of traditional societies appeared easy: provide the peasants with information and education and they would progress through the logical steps of mobility, urbanization, literacy, consumption of mass media and political participation. But such a concept proved too simplistic and non-specific to apply to today's Third World nations.

A new paradigm arose with Rogers (1962), whose study of the diffusion of innovations released a second wave of optimism. It was a paradigm that was explored, discussed, developed and applied through the '60s, but didn't emerge as the primary force in development communication until the '70s. In the meantime, well-meaning Western industrialized nations had clung to the notion that the road to development was paved with rapid industrialization and urbanization, a route which most frequently resulted in exacerbating an already critical situation.

The innovation diffusion approach, therefore, concentrated on agricultural improvement and increased health and nutritional services to the rural poor. Although in principle this appeared to offer a solution to the problem of raising the level of the most deprived keepers of the land, it did in fact increase the gap between them and the relatively more affluent farmers. What happened was that innovations directed to all of the

agricultural sector were most readily adopted by farmers who had larger land holdings and were already comparatively well off, and who could afford the resources to implement the newer technologies. They advanced, while subsistence farmers fell into an even more wretched condition.

The "new perspective," according to McAnany, calls for a focus on the poor majority, with an attempt to create equity through increased production. To accomplish this, much more must be discovered about the "information environment" of the poor, and a thorough anlaysis made of the political, structural and technical constraints in any given situation. McAnany recommends an approach which integrates both political and technical aspects in order to accommodate to various constraints. For example, what good is a technical solution where small subsistence farmers cannot use information in a constructive way because of land size or lack of credit? And how can an agricultural campaign succeed if it arrives at a fundamental necessity for land reform, a political impossibiiity? Certainly some accommodation is necessary here.

McAnany's lead article provides an excellent analysis of the information situation system in general, and in the light of this he presents an outline for approaching communication projects effectively.

The second section of Part I is an examination by Larry Shore of the relationship between socioeconomic factors and the distribution and use of mass media in rural areas. Like McAnany, he is concerned with "communication not as a simple independent variable, but as both a dependent and independent variable in a complex set of relationships with social, economic and political structures and processes." He focuses on the differential access and exposure of different sectors of the rural population to various information sources, especially the mass media, and the consequences of such differences.

Shore reviews mass media access, exposure, content, "information outcomes" and "social outcomes" in general, and then examines case studies in India and Nigeria. The results are quite predictable; e.g., that "television is the mass media (sic) with the greatest elite bias in most developing countries, and radio is the most generally available." He does point out, however, that "despite the rapid expansion of radio to almost all areas of the world in the last two decades, great inequalities still exist that hinder the potential use of mass media in development."

Part II carries us to a number of Third World nations where information programs have been attempted under various types of structural constraints. Franz Lenglet precedes his analysis of the Ivory Coast's TPT (Télé pour tous) program with a very good review of developmental communication projects which have been attempted in India, Kenya, Thailand and Columbia, in addition to the UNESCO literacy program. His conclusions about all of them: they fail to reach their target audiences, not because of internal factors of the projects themselves, but because of "lack of consideration of the socioeconomic and political situation." The TPT program, a seemingly well conceived and organized project, has failed, according to Lenglet, because of technical, administrative, cultural and structural obstacles. His analysis is most informative.

Latin America receives some attention through chapters about projects in Guatemala and Brazil by Jeremiah O'Sullivan and Eduardo Contreras. O'Sullivan analyzes a Guatemalan project specifically and other development communication programs

generally from a point of view conditioned by the Marginality Theory. This contends that large sections of a country's population, particularly peasants and landless farm workers, have no opportunity to participate in the social, cultural, economic and political activities of a country. This marginality, O'Sullivan says, is not ameliorated by the penetration of foreign technology, but is exacerbated by it. It creates greater dependency and further underdevelopment.

Contreras is equally critical of diffusionism. "Communications policies and practices became as much prisoners of the assumptions of diffusionism," he says, "as they were infatuated with the grandiose role early modernization theory promised." Both theories have been "oversold," but a case can still be made for communication in development, according to Contreras, by giving preponderant attention to societal restrictions. Structural change must take place first, he says, and quotes Grunig's statement that "structural change is the essence of development" and communication a complement. While admitting that some changes can be effected by communication without structural changes, these will be severely limited, and he suggests that the notion of communication as the key element for change should be abandoned as misleading.

Part III consists of a single article contribution by four authors, which perhaps accounts for its somewhat ponderous style. It is less specific than the other parts of the book and therefore lacks their incisiveness and information content. The authors conclude early on that industrial-based growth strategies are increasingly more unsatisfactory for rural countries of the Third World and that agriculture-led growth has been perceived to increase. Then they define the neoclassic economic system upon which the technology transfer is based and compare it with Marxist economic theory, all the time relating these to the evaluation of education/communications technology (ECT) systems. The point they seem to be making is that economics and communication must be made to converge as disciplines if we are to make valid assessments of developmental strategies and programs.

The book as a whole is an interesting and valuable addition to the literature, particularly for its articulation of, and rationale for, the "new perspective" on developmental communications and its thorough analysis of the relationships between communication and socioeconomic factors in Third World nations. It is encouraging that the new perspective is a more realistic one, recognizing structural constraints while leaving behind what now appears to be the naive idealism and optimism of previous eras.

STANLEY E. SMITH
Arizona State University

BIG MEDIA, LITTLE MEDIA: TOOLS AND TECHNOLOGIES FOR INSTRUCTION. By Wilbur Schramm. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1977, pp. 317.

Wilbur Schramm presents a report and an evaluation of the research, practice and philosophy of the utilization of educational and instructional media. The utilization of

media for the classroom and "life-long," formal and informal situations, as well as media for developing and developed countries are discussed. The author defines "Big Media" as "complex, expensive media like television, sound films and computerized instruction." The term "Little Media" refers to the simpler forms of communication such as slides, filmstrips, transparency projections, but also radio and programmed texts. Schramm states, "Our purpose . . . is to assemble and review the existing information that bears on the choice of media for instruction, and especially on the choice between Big Media and Little Media, so that the state of the art can be known to the teacher or planner who wants to understand as much as possible about the decisions he or she has to make." The author recognizes that often the media user does not select one ideal medium, but has to choose from a mix of media—a "master medium"—to suit the specific needs of the audience and instructor and complementary media to supplement it.

International and intercultural communication scholars will enjoy reading the examples of the use of media in the national development process. Project histories from El Salvador, Ivory Coast, Korea, Niger and Samoa are presented. Traditionally, developing nations have viewed the media as a rapid means to raise the quality of life and education, as well as an effective means to reach larger and larger audiences, often in remote and distant locations. Media, in this sense, may trigger a desirable multiplier effect and may accomplish national educational outcomes in ten years which previously took 50 years or longer.

Some weaknesses ought to be mentioned. The author presents largely North American-originated empirical studies. This in itself constitutes a strength of the book, but can also be viewed as a weakness inasmuch as some additional review should have taken European work into account. It is not this reviewer's personal preference, but discussions on the role and implications of Piaget's and Enzensberger's work for example, as well as semiological contributions would have been desirable. Little information is presented about the context in which national media systems decisions are made. A discussion of the intricacies of economic, political and social context as they relate to media selection could have made for fascinating reading.

Lastly, one area that was neglected is the utilization of newer communication technologies, e.g., communication satellites for word, image, data and facsimile transmissions. Numerous examples (e.g., PEACESAT, PALAPA) could have been presented that allow for previously impossible communications. The advantages of satellite communications include such areas as: time saving, multiple language transmissions, flexibility, growth, coverage, cost savings, speed and reliability. Satellites are desirable to bridge long distances and are independent of length of route. Studying cost comparisons for educational television, the use of satellites as the information transmission medium is the clear cost-effective choice when compared with conventional methods of class room information dissemination systems and terrestrial systems such as coaxial cable or fiber optics. Given the many choices among the available media, Schramm concludes aptly: "Increasingly educators and planners are ceasing to rest their hopes on any great medium, but rather to ask which *media* will do what the system needs doing, and what the teacher or planner can do best with what he has."

There is no doubt that this text is an authoritative and comprehensive review of media effectiveness, even with its shortcomings. At times Schramm allows himself to hypothesize

and speculate. This complements nicely the wealth of empirical evidence that gives the book its solid base. *Big Media, Little Media* belongs in the personal library of every communication researcher, planner, policy maker and teacher.

ROLF T. WIGAND
Arizona State University

THE DYNAMICS OF FOLKLORE. By Barre Toelken. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979, pp. ix + 395.

Taking the whole-culture approach to oral traditions, *Dynamics of Folklore*, by Barre Toelken, focuses on process. As a theoretical complement to studies of genre, structure and text, Toelken approaches the oral traditions of cultures through a study of the interaction of tale-teller-audience-context. For this reason, *Dynamics* is for people with an interest in the act and art of the communication of oral traditions as those oral traditions reflect the world view of selected cultures.

Ten major sections help the reader explore (1) the folklore process, the folk group and folk performances, (2) the "cultural" world view, (3) the responsibilities of folklorists engaged in research, (4) the relationships between folklore research and literary criticism, history, and literature, and (5) the applications of folklore to race relations, education, politics, and public affairs. Intercultural communicators will find Chapter Seven, "Folklore and Cultural Worldview" of particular interest because of its concentration on the role of oral traditions in showing how a culture sees and expresses its relation to the world around it. Toelken reasons that jokes, tall tales, anecdotes and other oral traditions are culture-specific and reflect the deeply held values and attitudes of a culture. They contribute to an understanding of the feelings and responses of a culture in ways that more formal expressions of culture cannot. In Chapter 7, Toelken asks pointed questions about Navaho, urban Black, Anglo, and Mexican-American world views as contrasted with those of mainstream U.S. culture.

The central question Toelken asks about events in oral tradition is this: *Who* is expressing *what* for *whom* and *why*? The "who" is the "tradition-bearer," Toelken's term for the teller. The "what" is the verbal or nonverbal tradition being communicated and that may have both an obvious as well as hidden beginning and ending. The "for whom" is the audience, which may actually consist of four kinds of audiences: (1) the central audience; for example, Navaho children listening to their father telling a coyote story; (2) a bystander audience; for example, the Navaho mother bringing in food; (3) an outsider, perhaps a folklorist from a non-Navaho culture; and (4) the cultural audience; other Navahos in that particular region. The "why" can be answered by examining the ways in which the particular oral traditions mirror the culture, maintain the culture and validate the culture.

Print is limited in its ability to preserve the process of communication but Toelken, in Chapter Three, "The Folk Performance," gives an example of one way to record in print the event of a Navaho father's performance of one of the Ma'i (Coyote) stories.

Down the left half of each page is the spoken word text. Down the right half of each page are notations of (1) audience response: "children exchange quick glances, smiling broadly;" (2) time lapses: "pause: four seconds;" and (3) explanations of vocabulary to the non-Navaho reader: "Shinash, literally 'one who travels with me,' is a term used for close friends and relatives." Although admittedly only the shell of the dynamic performance, the effect of printing an event in this way is to give a fuller sense of the moment than the text-only version of an event can give. Furthermore, Toelken recommends that we examine the context and construct an informed commentary on content and meaning as well as assess the effect of the folklorist, if the folklorist is an outsider. As he notes on p. 103, "Without the whole live context and the comment of the performers, it is unlikely that we will ever get very close to understanding—or even seeing—the dynamics that underlie the traditional process."

Extensively illustrated with full page black and white photos, *Dynamics of Folklore* shows us such examples of visual oral traditions as Oregon loggers in action, Japanese cooking *sushi*, and Navahos constructing string figures, one of which (So tso, or "Big Star") is featured on the cover. The fieldwork transcript, that forms the appendix, is a model for setting in print a tape-recorded interview. Each chapter closes with two to four pages of annotated bibliographic notes giving additional resources.

Because of Toelken's easy, informative style and extensive concrete examples for every assertion the book is both entertaining and scholarly.

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INFORMATION SOCIETIES: COMPARING THE JAPANESE AND AMERICAN EXPERIENCES. By Alex S. Edelstein, John E. Bowes and Sheldon M. Harsel. Seattle, Washington: International Communication Center, University of Washington, 1978, pp. xiii + 297.

This volume contains the collected papers and discussions of a conference convened by the School of Communications, University of Washington, and the Battelle Studies and Seminars Programs. It drew together representatives of government, industry and universities, from both Japan and the United States, to consider major questions about the increasing importance of information industries and policies in the two countries. The conference also projected future research directions by identifying those areas of major concern.

The two countries, Japan and the United States, are leaders in the production of "information technology" in the world today. These two societies have also moved, more than most countries of the world, in the direction of becoming true information societies. This development has created major questions of mutual interest to both countries concerning communication policies, the process of policymaking where communication/information is concerned, and research into these issues.

The volume is divided into several major sections:

Part I takes a look at existing national policies and international cooperation. It features papers of opposite numbers in the two countries, though direct comparisons are not always possible because of differing structures administratively and culturally. Some stimulating bases for comparison, however, do emerge. A pair of papers on a similar subject is followed by a transcript of the question and answer session with the contributors. Some topics of interest such as "information supply and communication policy is an age already over-supplied with information," and "probing the information societies with an eye toward what the two countries can tell us about the future," provide a foundation for further study as well as interesting reading.

Part II outlines the development and function of an information society based on the previous history and experience of Japan and the U.S. A rich set of data describes trends and stages of growth and development, including societal needs, communication as a substitute for other societal facets (i.e., transportation), and the effects of communication technologies on the quality of life.

Part III identifies the communication problems that appear in an information society. Technology influences human communication in many subtle but powerful ways. Many of the papers in this section are very provocative, including "Managing the Consumption of Information: The consequences of Diversity," "Preliminary Outline of the New Communication Order," and "Who Controls What: The Japanese experience and Prospects."

Part IV addresses a range of research considerations as it undertakes the subject of "Challenges of Policy and Comparative Research." Suggestions for policy research at community, national and international levels are offered, with emphasis on the importance of collaborative and comparative research.

A summary of the wide-ranging discussions carried out by five panels of Japanese and American participants is provided in Part V. These critical reviews tested the concepts that were presented on subjects such as information society indicators, developments in communication technologies, individual and group processes of communication, social policies for information societies and aids and barriers to cross-national communication.

The conference was held in Seattle in 1977, but already there are significant implications for the findings as other nations and cultures throughout the world move toward becoming information societies. In some instances you feel as if you may be getting the information too late to be of real help, things are moving so quickly.

The proceedings expose the reader to many prominent Japanese and Americans who have obviously given much deep and lengthy thought to the subject. There is a diversity of opinion which question and answer sessions put into better perspective.

Students of communication will find it a useful collection of thought, experience and research on a subject that is becoming more important each day. It also identifies those areas where further research is needed. The articles are generally brief, and any section could be used as a focal point of discussion or research without involving the entire book.

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SYNGMAN RHEE AND AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN KOREA, 1942-1960: A PERSONAL NARRATIVE. By Robert T. Oliver. Seoul, Korea: Panmun Book Company LTD., 1978, pp. x + 508.

In this volume, Dr. Oliver has provided a sensitive and sympathetic account of the birth and early trials of the Republic of South Korea under the leadership of its first democratic statesman, Dr. Syngman Rhee. Although it is frankly biased (in favor of Syngman Rhee and South Korea), this is an excellent book which offers a depth of knowledge and insight rarely found in works of this nature. Dr. Oliver has characterized it well in his own words: "This particular personal and documentary slice of history presents . . . one view and one set of judgments. It is based upon my own close association with Dr. Rhee from 1942 until his death. Despite the narrowness of the focus (and also because of it) this personal view of the rise and presidential career of Syngman Rhee provides a peephole view of not only the nature of Korea but also of the dynamics of American foreign policy."

Although Dr. Oliver includes a brief narrative of the life of Syngman Rhee from the date of his birth (March 25, 1875) in a "conservative Buddhist home" until his death on July 19, 1965, the principal focus of the book is upon the years of struggle immediately after World War II when Korea was for a time the joint protectorate of the United States and Communist Russia, the years during which the South Korean Republic was envisioned and finally created, the Korean War and the difficult years immediately thereafter. It is a detailed account, alternating its focus between the Korean scene and the American one.

Having worked closely with and maintained a warm personal relationship with Syngman Rhee, Dr. Oliver has been able to present with clarity and sympathy the aging Korean leader's interpretation of events in Korea as United States policy-makers attempted first to create a "cooperative trusteeship" for Korea, then turned the "problem" over to the United Nations, and finally ended by providing reluctant military and economic aid to the South Koreans during those first perilous years of the fledgling Asian republic.

Oliver explains that although Syngman Rhee advocated progressive democratic measures for the new Korean republic, the fact that he stood unwaveringly for militant anti-communism at a time when America, as well as much of the rest of the world, wished to foster "peaceful cooperation" between the two great powers led to Rhee's reputation as a "reactionary," whose rigid opposition to the North Korean Communist regime was a frustrating obstacle to Russo-American coordination. According to Oliver, it was only Rhee's determined resistance which prevented the ultimate domination of all Korea by the Communists; and, in the light of later events, it is difficult to quibble with the author's interpretation.

Although Syngman Rhee thus achieved a somewhat unpopular world image, two factors proved extremely favorable to him and the position he held to so firmly. The first of these factors was his undeniable popularity with the Korean people—no other Korean politician could begin to command such overwhelming majorities—and the second factor was the dawning realization on the part of the rest of the world of the utter impossibility of "peace through compromise" with Russian Communism. Ultimately, then, these conditions, along with Dr. Rhee's unremitting efforts, led to the establishment of the South Korean republic under Rhee's leadership, its successful resistance to

attacks from the north, and its gradual development as a democratic state, all carried out with the help of the United States.

The chief value of this book is historical. Although it presents events of that era from one point of view, a point of view most sympathetic to Syngman Rhee, it also provides a unique personal insight into the thoughts and feelings of many of the major figures involved. The book does not, however, provide significant insights into Korean culture. That, after all, was not its purpose. Oliver does make frequent efforts to refute misconceptions about Koreans, and about Syngman Rhee in particular, whom he depicts as a warm, courteous gentleman who achieved his ends by courageous persistence rather than the cold, dictatorial exercise of power. But Syngman Rhee, who had spent four decades of his life in America, was not exactly a typical Korean. There are also other brief accounts of Korean acquaintances and even a succinct account of Korean culture; but the primary conviction derived from reading Dr. Oliver's book is that one has come into possession of a new and more sympathetic view of the development of the South Korean republic and its first president—and perhaps some added cynicism regarding the conduct of American foreign policy. One does not feel greatly enlightened regarding Korean culture.

The book is generally well written. Although the detail and the extensive citation of correspondence leads to a certain amount of repetition, the book is not uninteresting. Although it is frankly personal—Dr. Oliver worked closely with Syngman Rhee during those years and was tantamount to being his American public relations man—it is carefully done and deserves to be considered a scholarly work. For anyone wishing to achieve a sympathetic insight into the origin and early development of the South Korean republic, it is a very important book.

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MASS MEDIA AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. By France Vreg (Ed.). Ljubljana, Yugoslavia: Department of Journalism at the School of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, 1969, pp. xii + 426.*

A book composed of all fifty papers presented at a single symposium is destined to diversity in subject, quality and philosophy, and this volume is no exception. The symposium was held in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, for four days in September, 1968, and was attended by some 120 participants from 25 countries, along with representatives from the UN and UNESCO. It was organized by four Yugoslav institutions, and held under the auspices of the Yugoslav National Commission for UNESCO and the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR).

In addition to diversity, one might anticipate, under these circumstances, certain other tendencies: (1) a heavy emphasis upon Third World concerns over the fact that the industrialized nations dominated world communication at that time (1968); (2) an ideological imbalance toward the left because of the political orientation of the host country

and the reputation of the IAMCR of being subject to Marxist influence; and (3) an over-representation of material from the host country.

Diversity is certainly present. Articles deal with research methodology, semantics, ethics, descriptions of national and international institutions and systems, general statements of position and opinion, and even a renewed call for international adoption of Esperanto. The editor of the volume, France Vreg of the University of Ljubljana, has divided the contents into three sections: one very loosely oriented toward research, the second dealing with various "problems" of international communication, and the third concentrating upon questions of freedom of information and the real or proposed role of the UN and UNESCO in international communication.

It is the first section which would appear to have the greatest current value, although the second section contains some useful reference material. An example of the latter is L. R. Nair's "International Communication in a Developing Society: India," in which he compares the performances of the United States Information Service (USIS, now USICA) and the USSR Information Department in India. His conclusion: The impact of the Soviet program was stronger, probably because it was totally integrated with an ideology and contained only aspects which were favorable to the Soviet Union. The USIS, on the other hand, communicated a certain amount of negative material.

Also useful in this section is Gertrude Robinson's description of the complementary role played in international communications by Yugoslavia's news agency, Tanjug. Her thesis is that Tanjug is providing a constructive service to several developing nations by supplying them with news which is more relevant to these nations than that offered by the major international news agencies. Further useful information regarding the Yugoslav media is provided by Yugoslav nationals in this section.

While the majority of Section III is largely informed opinion and descriptive material that is outdated, Part I contains hypotheses, suggested research methods and completed studies which are relevant and important today. Listed among the authors in this section are such prominent names in international communication research as Alex Edelstein, Dallas Smythe, Herbert Schiller, Oscar Riegel, William Porter, James W. Markham, Lewis Donohew, Gerald Kline, Malcom Maclean, Kaarle Nordenstreng and Pertti Tiihonen. Edelstein's piece on "Communication and International Conflict" reports on the use of American responses to the Vietnam issue to determine the ways in which international confrontations (social conflict) influence an individual's resolution of dissonance in terms of communication behavior. He concludes that a relationship exists between one's view of the nature of social conflict, one's probable psychological state, and one's use of interpersonal and mass communication. He also includes a well-organized appendix containing summaries of the work of thirteen different authors on conflict perspectives from a psychological and social point of view.

Smythe spends considerable time in his article on "Conflict, Cooperation and Communications Satellites" documenting the exploitation of the developing nations by Western communication dominance and criticizing USA policy and practice concerning communications satellites. Although he urges international cooperation through UNESCO, he offers no specific solutions. While deprecating the theories of "establishment" communication experts Lucian Pye and Wilbur Schramm, he draws heavily from the philosophy of Herbert Schiller.

In his own contribution, Schiller hammers at the same theme, but focuses on the transference of the communication gap from within the influential communication states to the international level. After citing the international power of U.S. communication giants (CBS, RCA, ABC, Time-Life Broadcasting) around the world, he deals with the nation's internal communication gap. "The controllers of the mass media (within states)," he says, "use their influence effectively to prevent society's undergroups from dealing with their most pressing concerns." This imbalance is internationalized, he says, "by virtue of the American economy's exceptionally powerful intercontinental impact." Schiller, a Marxist, encourages "insurgents in the technically advanced states" to rise "to challenge the prevailing pattern of communications power." The more successful they are, he reasons, "the greater the prospects that open up for the less-developed nations."

Riegel, in "Nationalism and Communications," says that in the U.S. "journalistic research has fallen under the spell of the new scientism and is the thumb-sucking, bastard child of sociologists and the computer, having little or no relevance to political reality." In another statement, Riegel declared that journalism schools in all countries (presumably including his own, the U.S.) "are subservient to government and the publishing and broadcasting establishments upon which they depend for survival."

Fortunately, there are articles in the volume which would appear to escape Riegel's condemnation. William Porter, for example, goes beyond Berbard Cohen's book, *The Press and Foreign Policy*, in a thoughtful approach to the impact of mass media on decision-making in foreign policy. Norway's Kaarle Nordenstreng uses an interesting technique to explore his hypothesis that the national point of view of a journalist influences his international frame of reference and concludes that the effect is not nearly as great as one might suppose. And Lewis Donohew suggests an "ipsative" approach to mass communication research, for which he makes a strong case. "Instead of identifying variables which go together across a population by correlating and factoring tests for a sample of persons," he states, "we would consider the individual as our 'system' and correlate and factor persons for a purposeful sample of tests."

Some of the presentations given at the symposium and published in this volume contained ideas, opinions and approaches which had been stated in other forums and contexts by the authors, while others were stated for the first time. Similarly, some of them have been developed and expanded in later publications, while others were apparently not. In any case, this collection does contain something of value for the serious communications researcher. There is much chaff, but there are also kernels worth harvesting. If one is discriminating, the three tendencies which were anticipated need not prove cumbersome. In fact, the differences in ideology make for interesting comparisons. There is not really an over-representation of the host country under the circumstances, nor is there what might be termed an obsession with Third World concerns. There is an emphasis—and why should there not be?

The book suffers from typographical errors and a lack of background on any of the authors, but on the whole it is an interesting and worthwhile source for anyone interested in international communication practices, policies, problems and research.

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GANDHI VS JINNAH: THE DEBATE OVER THE PARTITION OF INDIA. By Allen Hayes Merriam, Calcutta, India: Minerva Associates, 1980, pp. viii + 183.

This volume is a well-paced, readable account of the ten year debate between Mohandas K. Gandhi and Mohammed Ali Jinnah over the partition of Pakistan from India. It is thoughtfully researched, simply and clearly structured and lucidly describes the rhetorical strategies of the two protagonists.

The author wrote from a unique vantage point. He not only surveyed literature central to the debate, but he also spent considerable time in India and Pakistan observing the results of the debate's resolution. This, coupled with knowledgeable editorial counseling, provided instructive insight into Asian politics and customs.

The book is divided into six chapters. The first is concerned with the social background of the situation and the provision of a clear definition of terms. Chapter two covers biographical and philosophical data on the two leaders, establishing their points of difference as well as their general interaction prior to 1937. The final four chapters chronicle the escalating rhetorical warfare involving the two men, culminating in 1947 in the simultaneous granting of Indian independence from the British and the creation of Pakistan.

Gandhi and Jinnah were almost complete opposites in outlook and rhetorical strategy. The former was a spiritual, accommodating, charismatic Hindu completely committed to the goal of a free, united India. Jinnah, on the other hand, was a pragmatic "hard-liner" who built his power base through his ability to weld his fellow Muslims into a unit adamant in their demand for the establishment of a separate nation carved out of India. Here, he convinced them, they could practice their religion unfettered by Hindu customs and restraints. Hence, the term "Pakistan" (a Persian-Urdu term connoting "Land of the Pure") became their rallying cry as well as their geographical goal.

The book clearly demonstrates how the once omnipotent Gandhi saw his power erode under the relentless pressure of the Jinnah-led separatists. That pressure, like the debate itself, slowly evolved and intensified.

There were many things about the debate which were non-traditional. First, since it was carried on over a decade, it became subject to shifting political and social developments of the era. Second, all of the passages Merriam analyzed were those spoken or written in English (a language both men spoke not only fluently but with eloquence). Thus, the debate was carried on in a second language common to both men, enabling them to skirt the pitfalls of dialect difference in a land noted for its linguistic diversity. Finally, the debate consisted of not only face-to-face confrontations, but was carried on through letters, pamphlets and newspapers as well.

At the outset, Gandhi was able to dismiss Jinnah's urgings for a separate land for Muslims since that goal was secondary for both men in their drive to gain independence from England. But as Jinnah's committment to the formation of Pakistan grew, he was able to undercut Gandhi's influence in several ways: by piecemeal decimation of his arguments; by iron-willed determination; and by the ultimate construction of a powerful political machine. The Muslim ideal of a separate land was easily and vividly envisioned by Jinnah's followers and had a powerful coalescing effect on them. Conversely, Gandhi's

goal of a unified India where the people were Indians first and religionists second, failed to capture the public's imagination.

In the end, Jinnah's persuasive tactics prevailed, although his was a pyrrhic victory. The ever-alert Gandhi accurately foresaw the result as soon as Indian independence and Pakistan's creation became a reality. He was so distressed about the situation, he refused to join the Independence celebrations. "Why all this rejoicing?" he plaintively asked. "I see only rivers of blood." History bears him out. Before the riots and all-out warfare resulting from the relocation of Muslims from Pakistan was over, Gandhi's grim prediction was a reality, for 600,000 Indians died in the protracted, factional violence.

Merriam's book demonstrates that the rhetorical strategy of providing a clear goal and the promise of nationalistic recognition is a lure a polarized audience finds hard to resist. Jinnah kept the goal of Pakistan uppermost in the minds of his followers and varied his tactics to enhance its desirability. Gandhi adopted the strategy of identification, (maintaining all contending sects and parties were offsprings of "mother India") and emphasized conciliation, an approach which had little appeal to the action-oriented Muslims.

Readers of the book will be impressed with the solid, thoughtful analysis of the crucial points of the decade of debate and the even-handed approach of the author. His personal experience in the two countries, his extensive documentation and his well-thought-out conclusions provide incisive insight into the rhetorical strategies and tactics of two of the most articulate spokesmen India has ever produced.

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